BIOGRAPHICAL, LITERARY,

AND

POLITICAL

ANECDOTES,

OF SEVERAL OF

THE MOST EMINENT PERSONS

OF

THE PRESENT AGE.

NEVER BEFORE PRINTED.

WITH AN

APPENDIX;

CONSISTING OF

ORIGINAL, EXPLANATORY, AND SCARCE

PAPERS.

BY THE

AUTHOR OF ANECDOTES OF THE LATE EARL OF CHATHAM.

HISTORIAM, OMNIUM SECRETORUM MEMORIAM DICO.—*Cicero.*

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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BIOGRA-

BIOGRAPHICAL, LITERARY, AND POLITICAL ANECDOTES.

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THE LATE EARL TEMPLE.

PROMINENT FEATURES OF THE OPPOSITION TO THE EARL OF BUTE.

Character of the Opposition. Lesson of the Earl of Bute. Solicits the Friendship of Lord Temple. Contradicts Lord Temple in the House of Lords. Lord George Sackville introduced at Court. Origin of the North Briton. The Opposition formed. Lord Bute makes Proposals to Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt, by Mr. Stanley. The Office of First Minister put into Commission. Desertion of Lord Hardwicke, and others, from the Opposition; whose Offers are rejected by the Court. Lord Temple's Firmness in the Support of Mr. Wilkes, and of the great public Cause. A Great Person mistaken in his Opinion of Lord Temple. Opposition re-united. Lord Temple's Advice

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Lord Talbot. Lord Chatham seduced: confesses in the House of Lords that he had been duped. Lord Temple and Lord Chatham reconciled. Lord Temple refuses the Offer of being made Lord Privy Seal.

THE vigorous opposition that was made to the measures of the Earl of Bute, during that noble Lord's administration, and some years afterwards, was considerably animated by the spirit and zeal of Lord Temple. So true it is, that in all great points of public interest, where the union of individuals is necessary, there must be, if not a leader, at least a person of weight sufficient, not only to form the union, but to give energy to its measures. In this instance, Lord Temple was that person. Perhaps it would be strictly correct, to style him the leader of the opposition.

The persons who composed this opposition were of the first rank, family, and fortune in the kingdom. They were zealously attached to the constitution, as it was established at the revolution, and to the family on the

throne. There has not been, since the accession of the house of Hanover, an opposition to ministerial tyranny formed upon purer principles of public happiness and interest. All former oppositions were tinctured with Jacobitism. This was the first against whom that charge could not be brought; and the phænomenon is increased, when it is observed, that the notorious friends of the house of Stuart, and the descendants of those, who, in their day, had been the notorious friends of the same house, and who avowedly professed all the slavish principles and doctrines of the Stuarts, now publicly filled the court of the King, and several of the principal departments in the state. The Earl of Bute was omnipotent. He not only dismissed the great ministers, who had conducted the war with unexampled vigour and success, but he turned out every friend of the house of Hanover, who held any office or place under the crown. These circumstances were sufficient to suspect a design in the prime minister to renew the measures of the second Charles and James. His conduct created hatred, and his principles produced alarm.

At this time was inculcated that unhappy leſſon, "That the more unpopular a King's miniſter becomes, the more firmly he ought to be ſupported——Kings muſt never recede." If ever there was a time, when this doctrine was more pernicious in its effects than at another, it was at this time. Ample experience has convinced every perſon, of the loſſes, diſgraces, and miſeries, which are to be aſcribed to this ſource.

The principal, and almoſt only fact, urged in his behalf, was, that he was the *Favourite* of the King. Thoſe who made this apology were exceedingly indiſcreet. *Royal favourites* have always been odious in all countries. Their invariable deſign conſtantly is, to reduce the people to a ſtate of inſignificancy, in order that they may eſtabliſh their own power with impunity.

A few weeks after he had driven Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt from their offices, he made a pointed and perſonal attack upon Lord Temple, in the Houſe of Lords, before any ſyſtem or plan of oppoſition to him had

 been

been formed, or probably even thought of; for they resigned in the month of October 1761, and this attack was made in the succeeding month of November, which was a considerable time before the general dismission and proscription of the Whigs took place. Lord Bute sought the first opportunity to make it. He saw in Lord Temple, that rising spirit he might have most cause to dread. He had solicited conciliation with his Lordship about ten days before, and had failed. Warmed with resentment, and flattered with the hope of obtaining a triumph over his opponent,—upon the motion for the papers relative to the rupture with Spain, Lord Temple, after recommending unanimity in the strongest terms, begged to make but one observation upon all that had been said concerning the family compact, which was, that it had been signed in August, had been ratified in September, and the written advice to his Majesty was given and dated on the eighteenth of that month. Upon which, Lord Bute rose in great heat, and gave to Lord Temple the most flat and unqualified contradiction. He declared upon *his honour*, that there was *no* in-

telligence of ſuch a fact ſo conſtituted, at that time. Theſe words brought up Lord Temple again; who likewiſe declared upon *his honour*, that there *was* intelligence of the higheſt moment relative to thoſe matters at that time; that he was not at liberty to declare it publicly, but would *refreſh* his Lordſhip's memory in private: and then beckoned Lord Bute to follow him out of the houſe; who did: and in the private conference between them, Lord Bute admitted that he recollected the facts, as they had been ſtated; but when he returned into the Houſe of Lords, he did not, which, as a gentleman, he ought to have done, ſtand up in his place, and acknowledge his miſtake. The reader will not think it improbable, that Lord Temple's enmity to Lord Bute was embittered by this circumſtance. Nor will it perhaps be improper to take notice of another circumſtance, which was indeed of leſſer moment, but not leſs perſonally inſulting to the feelings of Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt. On the firſt court-day, after the acceſſion of the preſent King, and while the late King lay dead in his palace, Lord George Sackville made his appearance at St James's,

and was admitted to kiſs the King's hand. This was ſuch an outrage on the memory of the late King, and on the honour of thoſe ſervants who had the conduct of the war, that they were perfectly aſtoniſhed at it, and made inquiry into the cauſe of it; when, to their no leſs ſurpriſe, they found that Lord George had been invited to court by the Earl of Bute. They remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt it; and Lord George did not appear again at St. James's during Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration.

In the month of May 1762, Lord Bute having advanced himſelf to the head of the Treaſury, and diſmiſſed many of the principal Whigs from their offices, the great families were convinced of the dangerous deſigns of the Favourite, and embraced the recommendations of Lord Temple, to unite, and to form a powerful oppoſition to his meaſures and conduct. In order to prevent this union becoming eſtabliſhed, to an extent that might be fatal to his influence, he opened all the floodgates of corruption. Sixteen peerages were created; the Lords of the Bedchamber were doubled; the Grooms of the Bedchamber

were doubled; the ſalaries of other places were doubled; obſolete places were revived; many were penſioned out of offices, to make vacancies for others. In a word, the whole power and patronage of the crown were exerted to the utmoſt to ſupport his adminiſtration. This dominion, great and abſolute as it was, did not content him. He was conſcious, that though the power of the crown was amply ſufficient to give him all that he wanted in parliament, he ſaw there was ſomething elſe wanting. This was the favour of the people. And in order to obtain this, he hired a conſiderable number of writers; Smollett, Murphy, Mallett, Shebbeare, Ruffhead, Cleland, Guthrie, and many more. On the day that he mounted the Treaſury ſteps, a paper called *the Briton* made its appearance in his favour, written by Smollett; and in a few days followed another, called *the Auditor*, and ſeveral more. In theſe papers, the characters of Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple were repeatedly reviled, in terms the moſt opprobrious and ſcurrilous. And though it was not probable, that ſuch writings could have much effect on the public mind, yet it muſt

have

have been obſerved by thoſe perſons who have given ſome attention to this literary ſpecies of belligerent operation, that an impreſſion may be made by numerous and conſtant efforts. Add to this, the writers in behalf of the miniſtry have always a great advantage over their opponents; they can indulge in aſſerting the moſt infamous falſehoods, with impunity.

To counteract the poiſon of theſe papers, a gentleman of talents and erudition, who was a warm and ſincere admirer of Lord Temple's patriotiſm and virtues, commenced another paper; which was called *the North Briton*. The elegance of the compoſition, the keenneſs of the ſatire, and the brilliancy of the wit, with which almoſt every paper abounded, very ſoon attracted the public attention; and ſecured to the paper a very extenſive circulation. Lord Temple was not ignorant of his friend's deſign, before he put it in execution; and certainly approved of it. But the ſeverity of ſome of the national reflections upon the Scots, on account of their attachment to Lord Bute, and their enmity

to

to Mr. Pitt, did not meet with the entire approbation of his Lordſhip; not from any perſonal conſiderations of his own, but from an apprehenſion of thereby weakening the national force. However, it muſt always be remembered, that in the language of a temporary periodical paper, the bent and humour of the times muſt be conſidered; and to give ſuch a paper popularity and conſequence, ſacrifices muſt be made to the caprice of the day. At this time, a great part of the Scots were exceedingly illiberal to the Engliſh; and a great part of the Engliſh were no leſs offended with the Scots. Lord Bute was undoubtedly, by his partiality to his countrymen, the primary cauſe of theſe jealouſies.

Lord Temple frequently aſſiſted his friend in the production of theſe papers; not indeed with his pen, but with his information and line of reaſoning. All the Whigs highly approved of theſe papers: the public mind was ſtrongly impreſſed by them: the language and argument were always judicious, and directed to the objects of the moment: while the papers of Lord Bute's writers, were clumſily

ſily put together; were diſguſting by their ſcurrility, and contemptible by their dulneſs.

This literary aſſiſtance from Lord Temple and his friends, gave additional weight to his Lordſhip's recommendation of a union; and the meaſure was completely accompliſhed in the month of February 1763.

To give a ſignal to the nation of this union, to contradict the aſſertions of the miniſterial writers that the perſons in oppoſition were totally unconnected, and to inſpire the public mind with the hope of relief, from the all-graſping power and inſolent domination of a Favourite; the principals agreed to dine together, once a week, at each other's houſes. The firſt dinner was at Lord Temple's in Pall-Mall, about the end of February 1763; the next was at the Duke of Newcaſtle's, in March following; others ſucceeded. The parties were chiefly the Dukes of Bolton, Devon, Grafton, Newcaſtle, Portland; Marquis of Rockingham; Earls of Albemarle, Aſhburnham, Beſborough, Cornwallis, Hardwicke, Scarborough, Spencer, Temple; Lords Abergavenny, Dacre, Forteſcue,

tefcue, Grantham, Sondes, Walpole, Villiers; Right Hon. W. Pitt, Sir George Savile, C. Townfhend, C. Yorke, James Grenville, &c. &c. This flag, as it was called at the time, for the names were conftantly given every week in the newfpapers, was a teftimonial to the whole country, that there was an oppofition formed, compofed of many of the firft perfonages in the kingdom. The Favourite was their object. To correct the mifchiefs he had committed, and to prevent the continuance of his power, were their avowed defigns. After the fecond meeting of the party, when he faw the meafure likely to be purfued, he was feized with timidity: he caufed an offer to be made to Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt, by Mr. Hans Stanley, that if they would withdraw from the Whigs, he would make an opening for them to return to adminiftration. They treated the propofal with the utmoft indignation; they confidered it an infult offered to their integrity; and refufed it with a firmnefs that was worthy of imitation. They had made their engagements, they faid, and were incapable of breaking them.

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This attempt to divide his opponents indisputably ſhews, that he was afraid of their united ſtrength, and that whatever other reaſons he might have, he was, from this moment, entertaining thoughts of retiring from before the curtain. He was by this time, alſo, become afraid of other adverſaries; who were his coadjutors in the negotiation of peace. They had been duped, and began to threaten him. Therefore, thus finding his offers rejected by his *public* opponents, he made offers to his *private* enemies; by whom they were accepted. This was the true cauſe of that ſudden ſucceſſion of Mr. Grenville, and the Lords Halifax and Egremont, to the unprecedented copartnerſhip of premier; for when Lord Bute reſigned in April 1763, it was immediately ſignified to all the foreign miniſters, by authority, "That his Majeſty had been pleaſed to place his government in the hands of Mr. Grenville, the Earls of Halifax and Egremont; and that in all caſes of importance, they were not to act ſeparately, but in an agreement of the *three*: And to them all applications on buſineſs were to be directed." This is the firſt time that the

office

office of prime-minifter was put into commiffion. Lord Bute, in the moft folemn manner, affured his fucceffors, that he renounced all pretenfions to public bufinefs in every fhape whatever.

During the arrangement of this change of oftenfible minifters, the weekly publication of the North Briton was fufpended, from April 2 to April 23. When the new miniftry were declared by authority, the writer of that paper attacked them with great afperity; and in the fame paper animadverted on the King's fpeech, which had been delivered a few days before at the clofe of the feffion of Parliament. Thefe animadverfions provoked the court exceedingly; and it was inftantly refolved to take advantage of this pretended infult on the King, and under colour of that pretence, to exercife the extremeft vengeance on all parties concerned in the North Briton. Lord Bute urged his fubftitutes to do what he durft not attempt himfelf: he was fmarting under the wounds inflicted by former papers. He therefore eagerly feized this firft moment to gratify his defire of revenge. The crown lawyers

feconded his wifhes. Prerogative lawyers are always ready to denominate any political paper a libel. But the better opinion is that this was a conftitutional paper: the King was treated with the greateft perfonal refpect, his minifters only were condemned.

A little time afterwards, Lord Temple wrote, or, perhaps it will be correctly ftating, that his Lordfhip dictated to an amanuenfis, a fair and conftitutional defence of this paper of the North Briton. A few copies only of this defence were printed; it was not publifhed. The following extracts are taken from one of the copies:

"Every one does not know exactly the principles of the conftitution, by which we are to judge with what degree of authority a fpeech from the throne is ftamped, whether it is to be confidered as perfonal to the King, or afcribed to the minifters; and how far it is facred above any other act of adminiftration whatever, and exempt from the freedom of difcuffion with which all minifterial tranfactions may be treated. The rights of Ma-

jeſty are venerable; and no good ſubject would wiſh to offend againſt that perſonal reſpect that is due to the Sovereign. It was therefore very artful to raiſe a cry againſt the alleged author of the *North Briton*, that he had affronted the King, and to proclaim aloud, that whoever countenanced him, or avowed what he advanced, was a partaker of his offence. Perhaps ſome were ſtunned with this at firſt: duty to his Majeſty might be too ſtrong for the rights of liberty, and fear of being diſreſpectful to the King might ſilence the claims of truth. But when people recovered from the firſt ſurpriſe, and examined the affair coolly, it was impoſſible not to ſee through the miniſterial artifice. There are of thoſe, who will have no ſuperiors in loyalty, and cannot be exceeded by any in perſonal reſpect, duty, and affection to the King, and yet will not eaſily yield the freedom of examining what miniſters are pleaſed to put into the ſpeeches they make for the throne. Nor will they join in a cry againſt any man, were he ever ſo culpable in other reſpects, as affronting the King, for doing what they think is the privilege of every ſubject to do.

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That is wounding the conſtitution, under pretence of regard to royalty. The reſpect due to his Majeſty, in that matter, is to diſtinguiſh him from the Miniſters; to exculpate the King, as the conſtitution does, from any wrong; and to lay the fault, if there is one, upon the Miniſters, whoſe, moſt indiſputably, it is.

"It is a queſtion of too much magnitude to be confounded with any thing elſe, what liberty the conſtitution allows to be taken with the King's ſpeech; and therefore it ought to be conſidered by itſelf: but the ſtrongeſt prejudices cannot carry any man, who will uſe his own eyes and underſtanding, to believe that the author of the *North Briton*, number forty-five, meant an inſult to the King. All he has ſaid, is levelled againſt the miniſters, and he expreſſes, in a variety of ſentences, the utmoſt reſpect for his Sovereign; a heart-felt duty and affection to his perſon; a high veneration for his qualities; and an undiſſembled attachment to his royal houſe, and the ſucceſſion to the crown in the Proteſtant line.

"The author has waged perpetual war with Toryiſm and diſaffection. Nothing has been more complained of in the whole courſe of the paper, than that, ever ſince the *Favourite*'s influence became predominant, the ſtaunch, known, and tried friends of this royal family, have been depreſſed; and the avowed enemies of it unreaſonably elevated. It is not reaſonable to think that ſuch a writer ſhould mean to give a perſonal affront to the King. But nothing can be further from every expreſſion in the paper, about which ſo much noiſe has been made. It is impoſſible to torture it into an inſult to Majeſty, unleſs the word *Miniſter* is the ſame with the word *King*; and unleſs the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of regard for the Prince upon the throne are not only to have no meaning at all allowed them, but are even to be interpreted into invectives againſt the Sovereign, whoſe applauſe they ſound.

"The paper begins with laying this foundation, that 'the King's ſpeech has always 'been conſidered by the legiſlature, and by 'the public at large, as *the ſpeech of the Miniſ-* '*ter.*'

'*ter.*' The ſpeech, there treated of, is called an inſtance of *miniſterial effrontery*. It is expreſsly named in every part of the paper, the *Miniſter's ſpeech*. The author ſignifies his 'doubt, whether the *impoſition* he complains 'of, is greater *on the Sovereign*, or on the Na-'tion.' The lamentation he makes, is 'that 'a *Prince of the excellent character he deſcribes*, 'can be *brought* to give the ſanction of his 'ſacred name to unjuſtifiable public declara-'tions from a throne, renowned for truth, 'honour, and unſullied virtue.'

"It is *the Miniſter*, who, it is ſaid, is held in contempt and abhorrence for it. *He*, it is ſaid, *has made our Sovereign declare* that in which lies the *fallacy* inveighed againſt: it is called a ſtrain of inſolence in the *Miniſter*, to lay claim to what he is conſcious all his efforts tended to prevent. After aſſerting that no hireling of the Miniſter had been hardy enough to diſpute what he had advanced, it is ſaid, 'Yet *the Miniſter* himſelf *has made* '*our Sovereign declare*,' &c.—'The *Miniſter*'s '*ſpeech* (it is ſaid) dwells on the approbation 'given by Parliament to the Preliminary Arti-'cles.'

'cles.'—' *The Minifter* cannot forbear, even ' in the King's fpeech, infulting us with a dull ' repetition of the word œconomy,' and ' in ' vain will fuch *a Minifter* preach up in the ' fpeech that fpirit of concord,' *&c.* In fhort, it is the *Minifter*, and nothing but the Minifter, which runs through the whole paper; and all the wrong complained of is charged upon the *Minifter*.

" A political paper wrote a great many years ago, to expofe the danger of making writings criminal by *inuendoes*, proved a treatife on the fmall-pox to be the blackeft treafon, by tranflating the word *variol* to mean *government*, and adapting every other term according to the fame dictionary. Sure no other method can fucceed in proving that there is an infult aimed at the King in this paper.

" It is a different affair, whether the author of the *North Briton* is right or wrong, in what he has advanced in the feveral places of the paper, where he uniformly purfues the above dialect; or whether the fundamental principle, on which he proceeds, be a juft one

or no. But, is he arraigning the *Miniſter*, or inſulting *Majeſty?*—Is it the *King*, or the *Miniſter*, that he charges with what he alleges is wrong? Can any man lay his hand on his heart and ſay, that the perſon who wrote that paper, has ſaid the *King* is the author of a fallacy; becauſe he has charged the *Miniſter* with having impoſed on the Sovereign, and, by impoſition, made him declare a thing which is a fallacy? We may confound *Majeſty* and *Miniſters* as we pleaſe, when we wiſh to deſtroy the diſtinction, for the purpoſe of making *royal veracity* a protection to *miniſterial fallacy*; but this writer ſeparates them with the plaineſt diſcrimination—He gives to each his part—The one, he ſays, is *impoſed upon*; the other is *the author of the impoſition*. Which of theſe is the crime? Any perſon may be impoſed upon, but he is innocent; none can impoſe upon another without being criminal. Royalty does not deify human nature; and what man, or what King, ſo wiſe and ſo able, as not, in ſome inſtance or other, to have been impoſed upon? It is the common lot of humanity to be liable to deception: but that ſort of impoſition that

ſprings

ſprings from miſinformation, or want of juſt information, it is not in the power of any man to ſecure himſelf againſt; and, of all others, Kings are moſt liable to it.

" The author of the *North Briton*, number *forty-five*, is not contented with the moſt explicit language that the Engliſh tongue affords, to point out, beyond a poſſibility of being miſtaken, that it is the *Miniſter* he accuſes; and that, ſo far from charging *Majeſty*, the very charge itſelf is, having *impoſed upon the King*—Not contented with this, he gives the King's character, in terms full of reſpect, as a *Prince of ſo many great and amiable qualities, whom England truly reveres.*—This is not the language of inſult.

" The regard he expreſſes in this very paper for the late good King, is an irreſiſtible proof of the affection and attachment of the perſon who wrote it, to his preſent Majeſty, and all the royal family.—Part of his indignation againſt the *Miniſter*, is for not ſhewing a due regard to the honour, either of our late gracious Sovereign, or of his preſent Majeſty.

'Was it (ſays he) a *tender regard* for the ho-
'nour of the late King, or of his preſent Ma-
'jeſty, that invited to court Lord George Sack-
'ville?' Nobody is at a loſs to know what branch of the royal family he deſcribes, as *the moſt amiable Princeſs in the world*, who, it is ſuppoſed, is to make happy a diſtinguiſhed Prince of the ſame illuſtrious line. Is that the ſtyle of the enemies of his Majeſty's family? How does he ſpeak of the *ſecurity of the houſe of Hanover?* 'What a ſhame (ſays
'he) was it to ſee the ſecurity of this country,
'in point of military force, complimented
'away, *contrary to the opinion of royalty itſelf*,
'and ſacrificed to the prejudices, and to the
'ignorance of a ſet of people, the moſt unfit,
'from every conſideration, to be conſulted on
'a matter relative to the ſecurity of *the houſe*
'*of Hanover*.' He ſpeaks, with high ſatisfaction, *of a loyal and affectionate people*; an idea that could give no pleaſure to a perſon diſaffected to his Majeſty's auguſt family, or inclined to affront the King. No man, that is not a hearty friend to his Majeſty, and to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion of the crown in his family, would write in ſuch a ſtrain. The

words

words are ſtronger than a thouſand arguments. Such things do not look like a deſign to alienate the affections of his Majeſty's ſubjects, or ſtir up traitorous inſurrections againſt his government. *That* belongs to thoſe who have no good-will to the houſe of Hanover; whoſe loyalty is attached to an exiled and abjured family. When the author of the *North Briton* ſpeaks of that family, (as he does in this paper,) he uſes another kind of tone. 'The *Stuart line* (ſays he) has ever 'been intoxicated with the ſlaviſh doctrines of 'the abſolute, independent, unlimited power 'of the crown."

The ſeveral particulars of the proſecutions of the printers, publiſhers, and ſuppoſed author, with all the other circumſtances concerning them, have been ſo fully and repeatedly given to the public, it is not neceſſary to ſay any thing of them here; except only ſuch matters as have been either miſtated or omitted in the former accounts.

The firſt, and moſt material of theſe, is the conduct of ſome individuals in the body of the

the Whigs, whom Lord Temple had taken ſuch pains to unite. Theſe individuals were headed by the Earl of Hardwicke. As ſoon as Mr. Wilkes had been diſcharged by the Court of Common Pleas, they immediately paid their devoirs at St. James's, to ſhew to the court they diſapproved of Mr. Wilkes, of his friends, and of his cauſe. This ſcandalous deſertion was treated, even by the court, as it deſerved. They were not the perſons whom Lord Bute wanted. Finding this offered treachery not ſufficient for their purpoſe, they entered into a league to uphold and defend general warrants; and becauſe Mr. Wilkes had been diſcharged upon his privilege, as a member of parliament, it was another condition of the leaguers, in order to caſt an odium on the Chief Juſtice of the Commons Pleas, to vote away privilege of parliament in the caſe of a libel. This latter fact was not known, until that vote had paſſed. The Duke of Newcaſtle mentioned it at a meeting of the party at Devonſhire-houſe, which meeting was held for the purpoſe of ſettling the words of a proteſt againſt that vote. This proteſt was principally

pally

pally written by Lord Temple. And when they came to the conſideration of ſigning it, the Duke of Newcaſtle excuſed himſelf, on account of his friend Lord Hardwicke: and then explained the nature and extent of their engagement.

Lord Temple's ſpirit and firmneſs in ſupport of the cauſe of Mr. Wilkes, whoſe cauſe was that of every man who had any regard for conſtitutional liberty, deſerved, and met with, the higheſt applauſe from every part of England. It was his purſe which carried on the ſeveral law-ſuits againſt the King's meſſengers, and others. It was his liberality, munificence, and activity, which decided this great cauſe, in favour of the public. The cauſe muſt have ſunk under the weight of miniſterial influence and oppreſſion, if it had not been ſupported by his intrepidity and perſeverance. In this he was alone—even Mr. Pitt thought his ſpirit was too high. But if it was a fault—it was a virtuous fault—it was a fault in behalf of the people;—whoſe cauſe, upon all occaſions, he dearly loved and cheriſhed. When Mr. Wilkes was committed, his Lordſhip offered

to

to bail him in any ſum; if one hundred thouſand pounds were required, he declared his recognizance was ready.

This public eſpouſal of Mr. Wilkes, brought upon his Lordſhip the moſt diſtinguiſhed marks of miniſterial inſult and malice; yet ſuch was his complacency to the neceſſary dignity of government, that he permitted the firſt Lord of the Treaſury to be re-elected for the town of Buckingham, rather than ſuffer the King's firſt Miniſter to mendicate a ſeat in parliament. His mind was influenced by public conſiderations, not by perſonal ones. Few men's characters have been more miſtaken, or more miſrepreſented, than his Lordſhip's. When a Great Perſonage ſaid of him, "That he was undoubtedly a great man, but that he loved to embarraſs government," he only ſhewed that he had been miſinformed. No man could be more zealouſly attached to a conſtitutional government than he was. But he deteſted, with fervency and ſincerity, a government of ſecrecy, hypocriſy, and treachery.

This

This conduct of Lord Temple restored unanimity to the opposition, except Lord Hardwicke, and two or three more; and opposition became cordially united, in the general wish of bringing all the late proceedings before parliament.

Mr. Wilkes employed the space of time between his enlargement from the Tower, and the meeting of parliament, in printing the North Britons in his house. This circumstance gave Lord Temple much concern: he begged Mr. Wilkes to lay aside the design; and when he had begun to put it in execution, his Lordship implored him to desist. Mr. Wilkes, however, would not; he said many of his friends in the city had desired to subscribe for a neat and correct edition of the North Briton. It should here be stated, that the ground of Lord Temple's objection to Mr. Wilkes re-printing the North Briton in his house, was this, that amongst all the printers and booksellers, whom the ministry had attached on account of the North Briton, there was not to be found a tittle of evidence that could reach Mr. Wilkes; "Consequently," said Lord Temple to Mr. Wilkes,

"you

"you ought not to furniſh your enemies now with the means of obtaining that evidence which you have hitherto had prudence to prevent: and as to the plan of ſubſcription, he added, particularly, that Mr. Wilkes could not name the extent of the ſum of money he was ready to advance, if Mr. Wilkes would but ſend away his printing-preſs." Mr. Wilkes was deaf to all entreaties. He printed the North Briton; and the event juſtified Lord Temple's apprehenſions. The miniſtry bribed one of Mr. Wilkes's journeymen to become evidence againſt him; he was tried for *re-printing* and *re-publiſhing* the North Briton; upon that evidence *only* he was convicted: there was no evidence at all againſt him upon the *original* publication. Had he therefore followed Lord Temple's advice, the victory of public liberty muſt have been complete; the miniſters muſt have been diſmiſſed; and cenſured at leaſt, if not impeached. Lord Temple often lamented this unfortunate part of Mr. Wilkes's conduct.

When parliament met, the Biſhop of Glouceſter (Dr. Warburton) ſuddenly roſe in the Houſe of Lords, and complained of a breach of

of privilege; his name being printed to a note in an obſcene poem, called an *Eſſay on Woman;* a few copies of which had been printed by Mr. Wilkes, at the preſs in his own houſe. The ſame journeyman who had been bribed to rob and betray him, was the evidence againſt him in this matter alſo. This complaint perfectly aſtoniſhed Lord Temple: he knew nothing of the poem. But when he heard that it came from Mr. Wilkes's private preſs, he was ſo ſenſibly affected, he was obliged to leave the Houſe. Upon the charge of the North Briton, he had prepared to defend that paper, and alſo the conduct of the Chief Juſtice, (Pratt,) who had diſcharged Mr. Wilkes upon his privilege, as a member of parliament. On theſe two points he had determined to combat the arguments of the miniſters and their lawyers.

In the debate on Mr. Wilkes's expulſion in the month of January 1764, Mr. Rigby ſpoke of Lord Temple's public manner of approving, ſupporting, and defending the conduct of Mr. Wilkes, in terms of aſperity and harſhneſs.

harſhneſs. He was anſwered with great ability and ſpirit by Mr. James Grenville; who drew a picture of the Duke of Bedford in ſuch ſtrong colours, that the Houſe was obliged to interfere. Mr. Webb, Solicitor of the Treaſury, acknowledged that Lord Temple's conduct had, in one point, been much miſrepreſented; for amongſt Mr. Wilkes's papers ſeized at his houſe, he had found a letter from Lord Temple to that gentleman, expreſſing the ſtrongeſt diſapprobation of the abuſe of the Scots in the North Britons.

When the miniſters had gone through the firſt part of the ſtorm concerning Mr. Wilkes, they began to perceive that their late proceedings would be vigorouſly attacked in parliament; and that they ſhould meet with a powerful oppoſition there. On this account, they began to conſider of filling up ſome vacancies which had happened, and of ſtrengthening themſelves with ſome alliances. The preſident's chair had been vacant from the beginning of the year 1763, by the death of Earl Granville: this they propoſed filling with the Duke of Leeds; and they conſulted

Lord Bute upon it. This very circumſtance of conſulting Lord Bute, which is an undoubted fact, clearly ſhews that they had no influence in the cloſet.

Lord Bute, who had gone to Harrowgate to be out of the way of the ſtorm, returned to London upon this buſineſs: he inſtantly put his *veto* on the propoſition reſpecting the Duke of Leeds. Whether he had ſome other perſon in contemplation, or whether he began to repent of having made the preſent miniſters, and was looking out for another ſet to ſucceed them, is not certain; but if we may judge from what ſoon after appeared, the latter ſeems to have been the caſe. This diſagreement between the miniſtry and Lord Bute was not ſettled when Lord Egremont died at the beginning of Auguſt 1763: this unexpected event brought the diſpute to a criſis. There being now two ſeats in the cabinet vacant, which in the ſmall number of five, for the cabinet at that time conſiſted of no more, was nearly equal to a ſuſpenſion of public buſineſs; a ſituation that could not laſt long.

Lord Bute was ſtill deſirous of gaining Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt, but as Lord Temple had refuſed his applications twice before, the firſt time early in the month of November 1761, and the other in the month of March 1763, he reſolved to make this third application to Mr. Pitt. And having found Mr. Pitt more civil than Lord Temple had been, he brought Mr. Pitt to the King, for the purpoſe of forming a new adminiſtration. But Mr. Pitt having ſtated to his Majeſty in the way of explanation, his inviolable union with the great Whig families, and in effect, what had been given, in the way of anſwer, to Mr. Stanley in March laſt, Lord Bute took fright, and broke off the negotiation entirely. Lord Bute's view in this buſineſs did not extend beyond a partial change: he wiſhed to bring in Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt, and two or three others, but not more; and to continue to hold the reins of government by his ſecret influence: and when he had made them odious and inſignificant, as he did every body elſe, he could turn them out at pleaſure, without offending the nation. They knew all this: and he knew, that Lord Temple

and Mr. Pitt, with the great body of the Whigs, would form an adminiſtration of ſuch power and ſtrength, that his influence would be totally annihilated. To his vanity, and luſt of power, was ſacrificed this opportunity of forming a ſtrong and popular government. The particulars of the conference between his Majeſty and Mr. Pitt have been already printed in the Anecdotes of Mr. Pitt, chap. xxv.

The Favourite's next reſource was to Lord Holland for advice in his preſent critical ſituation; for by his laſt manœuvre he had made both parties his enemies. Lord Holland adviſed him to continue the preſent miniſters in their places, and to fill up the vacancies with the Duke of Bedford and Lord Sandwich. But as this was a negotiation in which Lord Bute could not appear, Lord Holland undertook it for him, and managed the matter very adroitly; by which he blunted the Duke of Bedford's enmity to Lord Bute, on account of the late peace; and the miniſters were allowed to make a ſort of proſcription of Lord Bute on account of the late

indignity he had ſhewn them, in offering to diſplace them for Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple; and to compenſate the Duke of Leeds, they were permitted to offer him an adequate penſion, which his Grace accepted. The Duke of Bedford inſiſted upon Lord Holland promiſing, in the name of Lord Bute, (for which he had Lord Bute's authority,) that his Lordſhip would not in future interfere, intrigue, or diſturb the preſent miniſters, in any department of their offices, in any of their recommendations to the King, or in any of the meaſures of government.

When the arrangements were all made, Lord Bute retired to his eſtate in Bedfordſhire; and the miniſters boaſted that they had exiled him: Lord Temple called it a *Mazarinade*; alluding to a ſimilar conduct of Cardinal Mazarine, who governed France as abſolutely when abſent from court as when in it.

The queſtion reſpecting general warrants, which was brought forward in the ſucceeding ſeſſion of parliament, is well known; but there was another queſtion, which Lord Temple

ple was very anxious to have had brought on; this was concerning the ſeizure of papers. He was not leſs deſirous of obtaining a ſtrong condemnation of this practice, than he was of the condemnation of general warrants. But Mr. Charles Yorke firſt, and after him ſeveral others of the minority, declared their entire diſapprobation of the intended motion, ſo it was never brought forward. It is impoſſible to account for their objections; Lord Temple was ſomewhat chagrined by the refuſal: and he wrote a tract upon the ſubject, or at leaſt dictated the greateſt part of it, intitled, " A Letter to the Secretaries of State, on the Seizure of Papers." The reader will find an extract from it in the Appendix, marked H.

Many of the gentlemen who compoſed the oppoſition, or minority as they were at this time more frequently called, ſaw with concern and pain theſe occaſional diviſions: and to prevent, if poſſible, the miſchiefs ariſing from them, they agreed to inſtitute a club, or ſociety, conſiſting of the minority. They were called the *Coterie;* and met at a houſe in Albemarle-ſtreet. The object of the in-

ſtitution was ſingly *to preſerve union:* but after ſubſiſting about five or ſix months, the number of members began to diminiſh, the meetings were ſeldom, and at length the project was abandoned. At the commencement of this inſtitution there was a quarto pamphlet publiſhed, called, "A Letter from Albermarle-ſtreet to the Cocoa Tree, on ſome late Tranſactions," which, though not literally written by Lord Temple, was entirely written under his eye, and nearly every line dictated by him. One deſign of it was, to proclaim the creed, or what he hoped was and would continue to be the creed of the minority, from the head-quarters; that the nation might know the doctrines they profeſſed, and the principles they avowed. But though the pamphlet was generally approved by the nation, yet there were ſome perſons in the minority who thought it declared too much. The reader will find ſome extracts from it in the Appendix, marked I.

This was the laſt effort Lord Temple made to preſerve unanimity among the noblemen and gentlemen who had formed themſelves into an oppoſition, in the hope, as they ſaid, of

of refcuing the government of the country from the influence of the royal Favourite. When the club in Albemarle-ftreet ceafed, the minority, as a party, nearly ceafed alfo. The leader was difcomfited; he was in earneft againft Lord Bute; but many of the others were not: they were ready to enlift under his banners whenever he was difpofed to receive them. Mr. Charles Yorke accepted of a patent of precedence, which fhewed his readinefs to enter into the minifterial fervice. At length this fchifm came to an explanation between Lord Temple and the Duke of Newcaftle. Lord Temple, in the plaineft terms, affured his Grace, that if the only object of oppofition was the poffeffion of *places*, if nothing was intended for the public, if his Grace and his friends would neither propofe nor fupport any meafure for the fecurity of the liberties of the people, he would continue no longer a cover to that defign. With this declaration the oppofition, or minority, totally ceafed as a body.

During the fucceeding feffion of parliament, which commenced in the month of January

1765, Mr. Pitt did not attend. Upon the Regency bill, which was brought in towards the end of the ſeſſion, the minority conſiſted of only thirty-ſeven members. The miniſters now thought themſelves perfectly ſecure; and having ſubmitted in ſeveral inſtances to Lord Bute's interfering in the patronage of their departments, the minority being broken and diſperſed, they began to aſſume an independence of ſpirit and character; they remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt Lord Bute's conduct, againſt his breach of promiſe, againſt his ſecret advice of meaſures; they complained of being kept in total ignorance of thoſe meaſures, (the Regency bill, &c.) until called upon to carry them into execution; of recommendations of perſons to high and lucrative ſituations without their participation or even knowledge; and laſtly, of the King's confidence not being placed in the conſtitutional channels.

This conduct of theirs determined their fate: it was reſolved to remove them. Lord Bute applied to the Duke of Cumberland; no doubt with his Majeſty's knowledge and approbation. His Royal Highneſs ſent for

Lord

Lord Temple on the 15th of May 1765. It will occur to the reader's obſervation, that notwithſtanding the unfortunate ſtate of the late minority, Lord Temple ſtill continued to be the *firſt* perſon the court were deſirous of obtaining. In the conference which followed between his Royal Highneſs and his Lordſhip, the Duke informed Lord Temple, that his Majeſty was reſolved to change his ſervants; and wiſhed to engage his Lordſhip, Mr. Pitt, and their friends; and then very graciouſly condeſcending to acknowledge his Lordſhip's public virtues, and public ſpirit, his Royal Highneſs requeſted to be informed of the terms which his Lordſhip had in contemplation to propoſe, previous to his undertaking the adminiſtration. Lord Temple, with the greateſt decency and humility, ſolicited to repreſent to his Royal Highneſs,

First, concerning continental affairs, the making of certain foreign alliances:

And a removal of ſome miſunderſtandings in thoſe already made.

Secondly,

Secondly, concerning domeſtic affairs; his Lordſhip required the reſtoration of officers, civil as well as military, who had been barbarouſly diſmiſſed from their places and ſituations without cauſe, or charge of crime. A complete condemnation of general warrants: and his Lordſhip added with a ſtrong emphaſis, a full condemnation of the ſeizure of papers, except in a charge, upon oath, of high treaſon.

His Royal Highneſs pauſed a moment, and then ſaid, "the terms were *perfectly juſt*, and *muſt* be agreed to."

This anſwer fully exhibits that great trait in the Duke's character, that he was ſincerely and faithfully attached to the intereſts and honours of his family; and to the lineal ſucceſſion to the crown; which all muſt allow is beſt ſecured by the affections of the people.

His Royal Highneſs having heard Lord Temple's conditions, then began to ſtate his own. The firſt was, that it was the King's deſire that Lord Northumberland ſhould be placed

placed at the head of the treaſury. Here Lord Temple begged leave to interrupt his Royal Highneſs, and to ſay, that if this was a *poſitive* condition, there was no occaſion to go any further. Lord Northumberland had been made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland by Lord Bute. Lord Temple anſwered, "That he would never go into any office under Lord Bute's Lieutenant." The determined tone in which theſe laſt words were ſpoken put an end to the conference.

Four days afterwards, (May 19, 1765,) his Royal Highneſs requeſted Lord Temple to meet him at Mr. Pitt's houſe, at Hayes in Kent. But though his Royal Highneſs was there firſt, and had had ſome converſation with Mr. Pitt before Lord Temple came, yet he found that Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple were one: Mr. Pitt having fully rejected the ſame condition, reſpecting Lord Northumberland.

This negotiation might have ſucceeded, if Lord Northumberland had not been named; but that circumſtance marked the hand of

Lord Bute ſo ſtrongly, it was impoſſible not to dread in it all the miſchiefs and verſatility of the continued influence of the Favourite; againſt which, repeated experience had ſhewn that the moſt ſolemn promiſes and proteſtations were no protection.

Lord Temple's firmneſs in theſe conferences with his Royal Highneſs did not meet with the entire approbation of ſome of the principal perſons of the late minority: in particular the Marquis of Rockingham moſt ardently entreated his Lordſhip to accept of the Duke of Cumberland's propoſals; and added, that he ſpoke alſo in the name of the Duke of Newcaſtle, who deſired nothing for himſelf, but that his friends might be conſidered.

At this time Lord Temple and his brother, Mr. Grenville, became reconciled, through the good offices of their mutual friends; the firſt application was from Mr. Grenville. Neither their private honours, as gentlemen, nor their public characters, as politicians, ſuffered by this reconciliation. Each adhered to the opinions he had already avowed: the

union

union only regarded what might occur in future. But it is very probable, that now agreeing in opinion, of the danger to every adminiſtration from the omnipotence of Lord Bute's ſecret influence, they might cordially join in any meaſure that promiſed to procure his complete overthrow.

Lord Temple's refuſal of the Duke of Cumberland's offers was aſcribed by many perſons to his reconciliation with his brother; Lord Temple would not accept, they ſaid, becauſe his brother was not included in the offers. This objection to Lord Temple's conduct, in thoſe refuſals, was repeatedly urged in various ſhapes. Sometimes in pamphlets, but oftener in letters, eſſays, and paragraphs in the public prints, until at length the opinion ſtrongly prevailed. It muſt be confeſſed, that the ſuſpicion ſeemed plauſible, and ſuch is the poſſibility of making a laſting impreſſion by reiteration, it has continued to be a ſuſpicion with ſome people even to this day. But no ſuſpicion, or opinion, could be more totally unfounded. It is only in juſtice to the memory and character of this noble Lord that the circumſtance

cumſtance is mentioned, in order to undeceive thoſe who have been miſled. Lord Temple always diſavowed any influence of his brother over him; and Mr. Grenville himſelf repeatedly deſired that he might not be named to the King.

In the tract intitled "The Principles of the Changes in 1765," written under Lord Temple's own eye, and the greateſt part of it dictated by him, this matter is fully explained.

"We may (ſays the writer) without being in Lord Temple's counſels, or pretending to unravel myſteries, ſafely ſay, he did not want inducements to accept of the great poſt, that preſented itſelf as a ſupplicant at his gate; a poſt that has often been ſought, but ſeldom, perhaps never, refuſed, and to him added gracious importunity to the powerful arguments of intereſt. One capable of ſuch refuſal cannot be ſuppoſed to be wholly deſtitute of that laudable ambition natural to great minds, which prompts as well as enables them to ſhine in elevated ſtations. Laying aſide the

the ties of allegiance, in a trial it is ſeldom put to; it were ſtrange, if any ſubject could be deaf to the voice, or indifferent to the wiſhes of the people of England, in a diſtinction ſo peculiarly honourable to himſelf. Not only the noble paſſions, but reſentments of a lower kind, natural to humanity, if theſe were worthy of a place in ſuch a conſideration, might have moved him not to decline a triumph over injuries. In ſhort, duty to his King, his country, as well as to himſelf, and his friends, had all their ſeveral claims for his acceptance. To weigh down all this, the writer (of a letter in the newſpapers) has found one motive, which he puts in the oppoſite ſcale; but one that, upon cool reflection, muſt appear to have been the leaſt capable of having any influence at all: and that is, Lord Temple's deſire (as he calls it) *to ſave his brother, Mr. Grenville, in conſequence of their reconciliation.* The chance of that was worth no price at all: and the difference of the elder brother, *without* iſſue filling the office of the younger *with*, could be an object, it ſhould ſeem, of ſmall conſideration between themſelves. It is not really ſo hard to find

out

out the true reaſon of Lord Temple's refuſal, as it is to aſſign any other that bear the teſt of reaſon. What could it be, but an apprehenſion of the impoſſibility to do his King and country that ſervice, which an honeſt man would wiſh to do in the ſtation he declined? His apprehenſions were groundleſs. It is true, that Lord Bute denies that he has intermeddled ſince he quitted office. But why does he deny it? In defence againſt the charge of the late miniſters, of breach of ſolemn engagements, he came under to them, even to remove from the King's preſence, which engagements he cannot diſpute. The denial has gained more credit to the aſſertion, than ever itſelf did: but it has not made the fact deemed in the leaſt doubtful. Nobody, who knows any thing of late tranſactions, is ignorant that, even in public and national concerns, the late miniſter (Mr. Grenville) was openly thwarted by Lord Bute's friends, whenever his partial affections gave them their tone: and no influence whatever is to be ſeen but Lord Bute's, in the whole buſineſs of the late change. Who elſe could have ſuggeſted the propoſition of Lord Northumberland for the head of the treaſury?

treaſury? and that firſt modeſt propoſition is a *maſter-key* to all that followed. Stronger evidence cannot be required of the continued aſcendant of Lord Bute, and that his aim was ſtill to maintain an abſolute dominion over this country, by being maſter of any miniſtry, to decide their fate, not according to their conduct towards the nation, but according to their ſubmiſſion to him. This muſt reſolve all government into the mere arbitrary will and pleaſure of the Favourite, and make the beſt adminiſtration that could be formed unſtable as water. Who does not feel that this inſtability has already made us the ſcorn of all Europe? Nor can there be an end of it, or of its unhappy conſequences, but by the annihilation of the influence of the Favourite. The title has been inauſpicious in all examples; and thoſe who now decline the ſervice of their country, may with great propriety make their defence in the words of Charles the Firſt's parliament, concerning the Duke of Buckingham, when they ſaid to that unhappy King, *We proteſt to your Majeſty, and to the whole world, that till this perſon be removed*

 from

from intermeddling in the affairs of ſtate, we are out of hope of any good ſucceſs."

The Duke of Cumberland's negotiation with Lord Temple having failed, his Royal Highneſs next applied to Lord Lyttelton. But by the advice of Lord Holland, who had many years enjoyed the confidence of his Royal Highneſs, the condition reſpecting Lord Northumberland was relinquiſhed. His Royal Highneſs offered Lord Lyttelton the treaſury. This change, in the complexion of the negotiation, was made too late. The original projector was diſcovered. Lord Lyttelton anſwered, that he acted in perfect coaleſcence with Lord Temple.

In conſequence of theſe refuſals, Lord Holland recommended to his Royal Highneſs, to adviſe his Majeſty to continue his preſent ſervants. On the twenty-firſt of May, his Royal Highneſs waited on the King at the Queen's houſe, and having ſtated the anſwers he had received from Lord Temple, Mr. Pitt, and Lord Lyttelton, concluded with adviſing

advifing his Majefty to continue his prefent minifters.

This advice was injudicious and imprudent. Lord Holland and Lord Bute muft equally fuppofe, that the minifters were filled with indignation and refentment, by this fecond attempt to difmifs them, and that one of them at leaft (Mr. Grenville) had adopted Lord Temple's hoftility to Lord Bute.

The King followed the advice he had received from the Duke of Cumberland. He informed the fubfifting minifters they were to continue in their offices. They inftantly demanded the difmiffions of Lord Northumberland from the lieutenancy of Ireland, of Lord Holland from the Pay-office, and of Mr. Mackenzie, Lord Bute's brother, from the Privy-feal of Scotland: and the Duke of Bedford made ufe of a language in the clofet, that was, if poffible, more provoking than thefe demands. There was no alternative, Lord Bute was obliged to yield. But it was only for a fhort time. The King himfelf came forward in the next negotiation. His

Majeſty ſent for Mr. Pitt; who waited on the King at the Queen's houſe, on the twentieth day of June 1765. Mr. Pitt deſired to have the concurrence of Lord Temple, who was next ſent for. On the twenty-fifth they waited on his Majeſty together. The King propoſed to put his government into their hands, upon the following conditions: The reſtoration of Mr. Mackenzie, the appointment of Lord Northumberland to the office of Lord Chamberlain, and all the King's friends to continue in their preſent places. This laſt condition was ſo undefined and unlimited, it was impoſſible to aſcertain who it included, or who it excepted. Therefore, Lord Temple gave to the whole a decided negative; in which Mr. Pitt acquieſced.

Recourſe was then had a ſecond time to the Duke of Cumberland; who reſolved to try thoſe who had never yet been tried. Theſe were that part of the late minority who had ſeparated from Lord Temple.

It is not neceſſary in this place, to give the hiſtory of that negotiation. His Royal Highneſs

neſs ſucceeded in recommending an adminiſtration, which was called the Rockingham adminiſtration, from the noble Marquis of that name being placed at the head of the treaſury. But if they had not accepted of the offers of the court, the abſolute and entire expulſion of Lord Bute muſt have been effected. The new miniſters ſaid they did not feel, nor could they diſcover, any ſymptoms of his influence. And they condemned Lord Temple's repeated refuſals of the offers made to him by the Duke of Cumberland, and by the King himſelf, in a great number of publications, written by their friends. At length Lord Temple dictated, or nearly ſo, but did not write any of it himſelf, a pamphlet in vindication of his conduct, called "The Principles of the late Changes impartially examined;" in which a retroſpect was taken from the negotiation with Mr. Pitt, in Auguſt 1763. To thoſe who deſire accurate information of this period, there are ſome parts of it intereſting. The reader will find ſome extracts from it, in the Appendix, marked K.

The new miniſters did not protect themſelves againſt the manœuvres of the court, ſo completely as they might have done. By an omiſſion they committed a great fault. This omiſſion was, not diſſolving the parliament when they came in. Ample experience had ſhewn them the power of the court in parliament. And though, by accepting of places, they had anſwered the purpoſe of the Favourite, in the hour of his diſtreſs, yet they could not be ignorant of the want of cordiality in the court; a want, which made the neceſſity greater, of either diminiſhing the ſtrength of the court, or increaſing their own. Lord Shelburne committed the ſame fault in July 1782. Parliament ought to have been diſſolved on both occaſions.

On the great meaſure of the repeal of the American ſtamp act, which was the firſt parliamentary meaſure of the new miniſters, Lord Temple adopted his brother Mr. G. Grenville's opinion. He thought that repeal was nothing ſhort of an abſolute ſurrender of the authority of Great Britain over the co-

lonies.

lonies. This opinion, coinciding with that of the court, Lord Bute thought made a favourable opportunity for opening a fresh negotiation with Lord Temple, to form another administration. He first applied to Mr. W. G. Hamilton, who at that time stood so high in his Lordship's estimation, that Lord Temple had resolved to make him his Chancellor of the Exchequer, if ever he accepted of the treasury; but Mr. Hamilton gave very little encouragement to the proposition. This check did not abate Lord Bute's ardour. He next consulted Lord Eglintoun, who was one of Lord Temple's friends, and one of Mr. Grenville's also. Lord Eglintoun suggested an interview of the parties, which Lord Bute approved of. Lord Eglintoun proposed, that the parties should be Lord Bute, the Duke of Bedford, Lord Temple, and Mr. Grenville. Lord Bute objected to the Duke of Bedford. But Lord Eglintoun thought the surest way to gain Lord Temple was first to gain Mr. Grenville, which he was certain could not be accomplished without the concurrence of the Duke of Bedford. Upon this explanation Lord Bute assented; and

Lord Eglintoun engaged to bring the parties together. Mr. Cadogan being ſuppoſed to have more influence with Mr. Grenville at this time than Lord Eglintoun, that gentleman was requeſted to ſtate the matter to Mr. Grenville; which he did, and Mr. Grenville requeſted Lord Suffolk to acquaint the Duke of Bedford. Lord Eglintoun undertook the management of Lord Temple. But before Lord Eglintoun had an opportunity of converſing with his Lordſhip on the ſubject, Mr. Grenville had informed his brother of Lord Bute's intention, and aſked him his opinion upon it. Lord Temple, in the moſt ſtrong and poſitive terms, diſclaimed for himſelf every poſſible kind of connexion with Lord Bute, immediate, remote, and eventual; but that he, his brother, might do as he pleaſed. This was in the month of January 1766. And when Lord Eglintoun ſolicited his Lordſhip to meet Lord Bute, at Lord Eglintoun's houſe, Lord Temple replied that he would not; but Lord Eglintoun preſſing his requeſt very earneſtly, Lord Temple repeated his refuſal in terms of warmth and indignation. Before Lord Eglintoun had opportunity

to inform Lord Bute of Lord Temple's refusal, the Duke of Bedford, Lord Bute, and Mr. Grenville, came to his houſe, according to appointment. The conference was very ſhort, Mr. Grenville ſaid afterwards in the Houſe of Commons, that their converſation was confined to one ſubject, which was the repeal of the American ſtamp act, and that they all agreed it was a meaſure fatal to the authority of Great Britain.

Whatever was the kind of change of adminiſtration which Lord Bute had in contemplation at this time, Lord Temple's refuſal to ſee him, or to hold any communication with him, effectually prevented the deſign being attempted; for though it ſhould ſeem that the Duke of Bedford and Mr. Grenville had no objection, yet as the party he moſt wanted was not preſent, he made no propoſal to them.

Lord Bute was now fully convinced, that in any future negotiation with Lord Temple or Mr. Pitt, he muſt be perfectly concealed.

When

When the repeal of the American ſtamp act was accompliſhed, the miniſtry made overtures to Mr. Pitt to join them, not ſimply in gratitude, becauſe he had aſſiſted them in that repeal, and without which aſſiſtance they could not have carried it; but becauſe they were conſcious of their own weakneſs, and wanted the inſignia of potency, which they felt and ſaw he poſſeſſed. They offered him any ſituation he would condeſcend to accept. Theſe overtures alarmed Lord Bute exceedingly. He was perfectly ſenſible that Mr. Pitt would not accept without Lord Temple. By the aſſiſtance of a Great Lady at Carlton-houſe, he contrived to amuſe Lord Temple, during the months of March and April 1766, with the daily expectation of a *carte blanche.* Lord Temple was for ſeveral weeks the dupe of this device; and notwithſtanding Lord Bute's viſits at Carlton-houſe were notorious, yet this matter was ſo unreſervedly declared to be totally independent of him, that had not, by accident, the "cloven foot," as Lord Temple called it, appeared unexpectedly, the deception might have been artfully continued

ſome time longer; until perhaps ſome meaſure, or arrangement, might have been produced by it.

In the preſent diſpoſition of mankind, and ſtanding ſo near the time as we do, when unjuſt prejudices are not yet allayed, and the effects of falſehoods are not yet obliterated, a writer reluctantly offers his obſervation, that Lord Bute muſt have eſtimated the acquiſition of Lord Temple of the utmoſt conſequence to himſelf, or to the country. If he had any of that affection for the King, which the King's attachment to him had ſo eminently deſerved, he ought, and he would, if he had been ſincere, to have yielded to the happineſs of his maſter, and the intereſts of the nation; and to have abandoned every thought of perſonal conſideration. But while he remained obſtinately attached to the continuation of his ſecret influence, Lord Temple, who was always furniſhed with correct information of certain ſecret viſits and meetings, received with ſuſpicion, and examined with jealouſy every propoſition that came from the court. To this ſedulous attention, he owed the

the peculiar honour of being the only Engliſh nobleman, who had not been ſeduced and deceived by the intrigues of Lord Bute.

During the receſs of parliament, a letter written by Mr. Wilkes to Lord Temple, containing a gay account of a duel between Lord Talbot and Mr. Wilkes at Bagſhot, had been publiſhed. A little time after parliament met, Lord Talbot, in a manner that was extremely abrupt, and in terms which were extremely rude, accuſed Lord Temple of handing this letter to the preſs. A duel was very near being the conſequence. The ſeconds prevented it. Lord Talbot was miſtaken in his ſuſpicion. The letter was ſent to the preſs by Mr. Wilkes, unknown to Lord Temple.

Notwithſtanding the many diſappointments Lord Bute met with in his negotiations with Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt, he was reſolved to perſevere, until he had gained them, or one of them at leaſt. Accordingly, a few weeks after the cloſe of the ſeſſion of parliament, the King ordered Lord Northington, who was at that time Lord Chancellor, to ſend

for

for Mr. Pitt. That gentleman waited upon his Majeſty on the 12th day of July, at Richmond: the King told him he put himſelf entirely into his hands; and that he was to form ſuch an adminiſtration as he thought proper, together with Lord Temple, who he deſired might be immediately ſent for.

The particulars of this negotiation having been fully and accurately ſtated in the "Anecdotes of the Life of Lord Chatham, Chapter xxxi." it is not neceſſary to repeat them here; and therefore it is only proper to obſerve, that after Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple had diſagreed, the ſtate of parties became exactly what Lord Bute wiſhed.

The miniſtry who were diſmiſſed to make room for the adminiſtration which had been formed by Mr. Pitt, who was now created Earl of Chatham, were attached to no ſet of men, they ſtood alone. Lord Temple, the Duke of Bedford, Mr. Grenville, and their friends, were preciſely in the ſame ſituation.

These

These two parties could not unite, for they held opposite opinions on the most important measures, and had so frequently and so publicly avowed those opinions they could not recede. Lord Chatham's new ministry was a motley group; it was composed of fugitives from all parties. Lord Bute's friends, or the King's friends as they were more honourably styled, continued in their several places. Thus every party was in so detached a situation, nothing formidable could be raised against him; and he could always lend his friends to the support of whatever party he chose to favour.

Lord Chatham thought, from the high authority that commenced the negotiation with him, that Lord Bute had no concern in it: but he found himself deceived. In the House of Lords on the 2d of March 1770, he publicly confessed that he had been duped, that there was something behind the throne greater than the King himself. He could not pay to Lord Temple's virtue and penetration a greater compliment.

At

At length theſe two great men were reconciled; but not until after Lord Chatham had quitted the court. Lord Bute enjoyed his triumph in having gained one-half of the meaſure he had been ſo long contending for. The reconciliation gave him no concern: his ſyſtem at that time was too firmly eſtabliſhed to be ſhaken by any party whatever.

Lord Temple continued in oppoſition to the meaſures of the court, which he conſidered to be thoſe of Lord Bute, or his delegates; particularly the proceedings concerning the Middleſex election, and the war with America. His ſentiments on both thoſe ſubjects may be ſeen in the parliamentary debates. When Mr. Grenville died in the year 1770, and that gentleman's friends went over to the court, the poſt of Lord Privy Seal was offered to Lord Temple, which he rejected with indignation. In the year 1775 it was again ſignified to his Lordſhip that he might have it if he thought proper. But he always ſaid, he never would wear Lord Bute's livery. His Lordſhip died in the year 1779.

[Some

[Some particulars in this article have ſo cloſe an affinity with the anecdotes of Lord Chatham's life, that the Editor has in one or two places been under the neceſſity of repeating the fact in order to connect the matter.]

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE LATE RIGHT HONOURABLE GEORGE GRENVILLE.

Connection with the last Chapter. Negotiation for Peace. Sir Charles Knowles's Plan for taking the Havannah; presented to Mr. Grenville, to Lord Temple, to Mr. Pitt, to Lord Anson, to the Duke of Cumberland. Fortunate Escape of Admiral Pococke. Mr. Grenville differs with Lord Bute on demanding an Equivalent for the Havannah. Mr. Grenville removed to the Admiralty, and Lord Halifax made Secretary. Mr. Grenville complimented with a Tellership of the Exchequer for his Son. Correspondence of the Negotiation for Peace supposed to be lost. Ministers took their Papers away when removed. Mr. Grenville appointed First Lord of the Treasury. Lawyers not Politicians. Persecution of Mr. Wilkes. Lord Bute's Letter to the King. American Affairs. Project of new-modelling all the American Governments.

ments. The Outlines of the Deſign. True Cauſe of the Stamp Act. Mr. Grenville not the Author of that Act. Impolicy of it. Mr. Mauduit's Account of a Conference with Mr. Grenville. Remarks on that Paper. Governor Bernard's Letter. Trade and Connection with America explained. Mr. Grenville deceived; removed. Stamp Act repealed. The Plan of ſubjugating America continued. Montcalm's Letters. Mr. Grenville ſaves the Public Credit of all Europe. The King's Eſteem for Mr. Grenville expreſſed upon two Occaſions.

THIS Chapter follows the preceding with ſuch particular propriety, that it may almoſt be called a part of it; and to be ſeparated from it only for the ſake of diſtinction and perſpicuity. But it is not the Editor's intention to enter into the memoirs of this gentleman; but only to ſtate ſome particulars of his conduct, during the preſent King's reign, which have either eſcaped the notice of other writers, or have been much miſrepreſented by them.

He

He was appointed Treasurer of the Navy in the late King's reign, but notwithstanding his family resigned their places in the month of October 1761, he continued in the same office until May 1762; when he was made Secretary of State in the room of the Earl of Bute, who went to the Treasury. In this situation he was necessarily a member of the cabinet at the commencement of the negotiation for peace; which soon after followed in the same year. In the progress of this negotiation, a circumstance occurred which induced him to quit the cabinet and his office. An accommodation however was made for him with the Earl of Halifax, who was First Lord of the Admiralty, for an exchange of places: Mr. Grenville went to the Admiralty, and Lord Halifax became Secretary of State.

This circumstance was the capture of the Havannah; an acquisition that was totally unexpected. As there are some curious and interesting particulars concerning this conquest, which have not been laid before the public, it may not be improper to insert them here.

 The

The merit of the plan of this conqueſt belongs to the late Admiral Sir Charles Knowles; who, in his return from Jamaica in the year 1756, prevailed on the captain of the man of war, in which he was coming home paſſenger, to put in at the Havannah. Admiral Knowles's ſtimulation at that moment was no more than curioſity, to obtain a view of this celebrated place. Being a time of peace with Spain, he was permitted to go through all the fortifications, and through all parts of the town and environs.——A few weeks previous to Mr. Pitt's reſignation, which was in the early part of the month of October 1761, when a war with Spain was ſuppoſed to be more than probable, Sir Charles made a correct copy of all his plans and papers, taken and written upon the ſpot, relative to the Havannah, and recommended in a very ſtrong memorial an immediate attack upon that place, in caſe of a war. Theſe plans and papers he put into the hands of Mr. Grenville, accompanied with a requeſt to recommend them to Mr. Pitt. But Mr. Grenville, in order to give the project the beſt ſupport he could, begged leave to refer it to Lord Temple, his Lordſhip being more in the con-

fidence

fidence of Mr. Pitt than any other perſon. Lord Temple highly approved of the propoſal, and gave to it his warmeſt recommendation to Mr. Pitt. A war with Spain was not at this moment quite certain; yet very nearly ſo: but Mr. Pitt ſo eagerly embraced the whole plan, that in caſe the war with Spain had commenced during his continuance in power, his fixed determination was, to have ordered the fleet and army he had ſent againſt Martinico, as ſoon as they had reduced that iſland, to go immediately againſt the Havannah; and to have ſent to them timely reinforcements ſufficient to enſure the ſucceſs. And in order to have every neceſſary preparation ready for the undertaking, he ſent the papers to Lord Anſon, at that time Firſt Lord of the Admiralty. But the expulſion of Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt from the State following almoſt immediately after theſe conſultations, the plan and the deſign lay dormant; until Sir Charles Knowles ſome time after the war againſt Spain had been declared, ſent another copy of the whole of his papers to the Duke of Cumberland: thus the matter revived. Notwithſtanding the entire approbation, and

the reſpectability of thoſe great perſons who had recommended this plan yet Lord Anſon declared it to be in many parts injudicious and improper: he therefore framed another; or at leaſt new-modelled the firſt. But the delay and unwillingneſs manifeſt in executing every part of the plan, were very nearly proving fatal to the expedition. Mr. Pitt's idea of ſending the force from Martinico was adopted; but with a moſt malicious view. The reinforcements ſent from England, conſiſting of only four ſhips of the line and four regiments, did not ſail from Portſmouth until the month of March 1762; though they might and ought to have ſailed ſix weeks ſooner; and conſequently would have arrived before the ſickly ſeaſon, by which they ſuffered dreadfully, and would have found the Spaniards almoſt unprepared. But what is moſt extraordinary, and wholly inexplicable, is, that when they arrived at Martinico, they were ordered, in caſe that iſland was not ſubdued, to abandon the attempt, and to take away the whole of the Britiſh force there, and proceed to the Havannah. But it fortunately happened, that General Monckton had completed

the conqueſt of Martinico before Lord Albemarle arrived; and thereby the hopes of thoſe who would have rejoiced in a miſcarriage at Martinico were diſappointed. There was another circumſtance not leſs fortunate: when Admiral Pococke ſailed from England with the four ſhips and the four regiments, the French had a fleet of twelve ſail of the line lying at Cape François, under the command of M. Blenac. If the French officer had been vigilant, he might have intercepted Admiral Pococke and captured him; and why he did not, was the ſurpriſe of every body in France and England at that time.

When the intelligence of the conqueſt of the Havannah arrived in London, which was in the month of October 1762, the negotiations for peace between France, Spain, and England were far advanced; and many, if not all the principal conditions were agreed upon: but a very extraordinary negligence, or ſomething worſe, appeared in theſe negotiations; for though all the powers knew of the expedition gone againſt the Havannah, yet no mention was made of it in the nego-

tiation. It ſeems to have been underſtood, confidentially no doubt, that whatever might be the event of the expedition, it ſhould make no change in the conditions of peace; it was to be reſtored, if taken. It is only in this manner that the conduct of Lord Bute on this point can be explained. Fortunately the preliminaries were not ſigned when the news came. In the firſt council after the receipt of the intelligence, Mr. Grenville immediately propoſed that the Havannah ſhould be included in the *uti poſſidetis*. Lord Bute inſiſted that the negotiation was too far advanced to admit of any alteration; that though the event was in our favour, yet he very much dreaded that our making any freſh demand on this account would prevent the peace taking place for ſome time. Mr. Grenville ſaid he did not object to reſtoring the Havannah to Spain; all he contended was, that Spain or France, or both, ſhould make a compenſation for it: either Porto Rico and St. Lucie, or Florida and the entire property of Jucatan, ſhould be demanded for it. Lord Bute refuſed to conſent to either of theſe propoſitions being made: upon which

Mr.

Mr. Grenville declared his resolution of quitting the cabinet; and, upon an accommodation being made with Lord Halifax, he went to the Admiralty; which removed him from all farther concern with the negotiation. However, Lord Bute, in a very little time, either changed his sentiments, or began to be afraid of the consequences, as he thought proper to make the demand of Florida only; which was readily granted. But if the interests of Great Britain had been considered, Porto Rico and Jucatan were infinitely preferable; and if any estimation is to be put on the facility of gaining Florida, it will not be doubted that Porto Rico, Jucatan, and St. Lucie might also have been obtained if they had been firmly insisted upon. Spain would have bought the Havannah at any price; and perhaps she gave more for it than the world is yet acquainted with.

Mr. Grenville's accommodation on this point did not pass without its reward. He was complimented with the reversion of the first vacant tellership of the Exchequer, for his eldest son; who succeeded to it in the month of April 1763, upon the death of Lord Waldegrave.

There

There were ſeveral other parts of the treaty of peace with France and Spain not leſs intereſting to the public; and had the correſpondence relative to the negotiation been laid before parliament, which it ought to have been, a clue to certain tranſactions might have been found, that would have led to ſome diſcoveries which might have aſtoniſhed the Britiſh nation, and perhaps all Europe. But probably this correſpondence is not now in exiſtence; or if it ſhould be found, it is probable that it will be in ſome private ſcrutoire; for at this time the cabinet miniſters conſidered all their official correſpondence as their private papers, and their own property; and when they or any of them quitted their ſituations, they took from the offices all ſuch original papers and letters as had come there during their adminiſtration. This practice might be prudent, in the apprehenſion of conſequences, but it was unjuſt to the government, and to the country.

When Lord Bute reſigned the place of Firſt Lord of the Treaſury, which has been explained in the preceding Chapter, Mr. Grenville

ville was appointed his ſucceſſor on the 16th of April 1763: the fortuitous circumſtances of the times placed him in this ſituation; which, though he filled with integrity and unblemiſhed honour, as a gentleman, he wanted that ſpecies of genius which is moſt uſeful to a miniſter—a comprehenſive mind. He had been bred to the law; and had he been permitted to continue in that line, there is no vain opinion hazarded in offering a probable conjecture, that he would have committed to poſterity a more honourable character than either Lord Hardwicke or Lord Mansfield. But Lord Cobham thought otherwiſe, and made him a ſtateſman: when his Lordſhip joined the Pelhams in the year 1744, Mr. Grenville was made a Lord of the Admiralty; therefore he could no longer appear at the bar. But there is ſomething in the habit or practice of the gentlemen of the law, which ſeems to confine the mind to diſtinct points; whether it is from the caſes of individuals claiming their daily attention, or the peculiar contraction of their ſtudies, certain it is, that ſcarcely one lawyer in an age can be called a politician, though ſo many aſſume

the

the name. They are too apt to limit their principles and ideas to the focus of an act of parliament. In the great debate on the repeal of the American ſtamp act, Mr. Grenville maintained the narrow ground of a legiſlative authority: Lord Chatham took the broad ground of conſtitutional right.

Even Mr. Knox, who had obligations to Mr. Grenville, and was conſequently partial to him, ſpeaks very coldly of his general knowledge. His words are theſe;—"He (Mr. Grenville) was not well acquainted with the internal ſtate of Ireland; and he knew ſtill leſs of the circumſtances of the American colonies." This is not very like the language of a friend, whatever it may be of candour.

The principal features of Mr. Grenville's adminiſtration are the perſecution of Mr. Wilkes, and the oppreſſion of North America; neither of which can, perhaps, be ſtrictly called his own. But it was not until after his death that it was authentically known theſe meaſures had not originated with himſelf; that they had been ſuggeſted to him by others

—by

—by the confidents of Carlton-houſe, and the confidents of Lord Bute. So true it is, that miniſters have often been ſeduced into paths, without ſeeing the hand that led them. He had too much of reſerve in his temper, and of what the French call *hauteur* in his manner, to open himſelf freely even to his friends; ſo that he became his own enemy as to his real diſpoſition, and wholly ſo in bearing the odium of theſe meaſures.

In the perſecution of Mr. Wilkes he was probably ſincere. That gentleman had treated him with ſome ſeverity, on account of his having attached himſelf firſt to Lord Bute, and afterwards to the Duke of Bedford; and thereby having totally ſeparated himſelf from his family. They felt the loſs of him; and therefore could not ſtomach what they naturally called a deſertion of them. In families, theſe diviſions, though not of a private nature, are too frequently ſpoken of in terms of acrimony. The friends of the parties are too prone to adopt the language of the principals; which, in the courſe of circulation, ſoon reaches the ears of miniſters, who never

forget the *divide et impera*, nor to practiſe, improve, and apply the caſe of the moment to the exiſting circumſtances of the period. It is a matter extremely to be regretted, that political perſecutions in England have ſeldom had their true foundation in the pretended crime aſſigned. They have originated in ſome perſonality, or oppoſition to ſome line of politics purſued by the Miniſter. The perſecution of the North Briton was generally ſuppoſed to have been occaſioned by the *fifth* number of that paper, which was publiſhed many months before Mr. Grenville became Miniſter.

In the firſt overtures of the negotiation, which Lord Bute opened with Mr. Pitt, in the month of Auguſt 1763, he ſhewed a partiality for Mr. Grenville. His firſt propoſition was to continue him at the head of the treaſury: but Mr. Pitt would not conſent to it. Lord Bute finding that his plan of a coalition was impracticable, had recourſe to the expedient of introducing Mr. Pitt to the King, who propoſed Lord Northumberland for the treaſury; to which Mr. Pitt alſo refuſed

fused his assent. The negotiation broke off, and Mr. Grenville was entreated by the King to continue in his situation. The ministers were exceedingly offended with Lord Bute for his attempt to displace them. The notoriety of the fact revived and confirmed the general suspicion of Lord Bute's secret influence. Upon this occasion it was that Lord Bute wrote a letter to the King, soliciting his Majesty's permission to withdraw himself from all public and private counsels. One of Lord Bute's friends, who seems to have been well-informed, has given the following account of this letter:

He wrote a letter to his gracious Sovereign, "humbly stating the resolution which, for the King's service as well as for his own ease, he had thought himself obliged to take: and then to remove all occasions of jealousy, he retired to his house in Bedfordshire for the whole ensuing winter 1763-4. The letter gave Mr. Grenville no claim to expect of the Earl of Bute his retirement from the concerns of state; no right to complain of breach of faith, if he should afterwards have

ſtepped forwards, and been received by the crown into the management of affairs, either open and avowed, or ſecret and confidential; becauſe that letter had nothing in it of the nature of a compact with Mr. Grenville or any other perſon. The letter was not written until after Mr. Grenville had agreed to ſtay in the King's ſervice. There was a paſſage in the letter which expreſsly mentioned Mr. Grenville's determination to keep his employment, as an event that had actually taken place. The letter, as I have ſaid, was declaratory of the Earl of Bute's wiſh and intention to withdraw from the King's buſineſs, for reaſons which concerned the quiet of his Majeſty's government, as well as the repoſe of the Earl of Bute himſelf." *Intereſting Letters*, *vol.* ii. *page* 69. *edit.* 1767.

There needs no ſtronger proof of Lord Bute's ſecret influence than this letter. He reſolves upon a temporary abſence from the capital, to his own houſe, very little more than thirty miles diſtant, with the ſilly hope of changing appearances. He renounces nothing: on the contrary, his advocate ſays, that

that it is no breach of faith, if he ſhould ſtep forward again in the management of affairs, either open and avowed, or ſecret and confidential. The laſt Chapter is the fulleſt commentary on the text.

With regard to the affairs of America, Mr. Grenville had no concern whatever in the firſt cauſes of the diſquietudes there. They originated in the projects which were formed while Lord Bute was in office. It was obvious, from the ſucceſſes of the war, that the continent of North America muſt belong to Great Britain. A plan was recommended by a naval officer from Boſton, of new-modelling the governments of that country. This ſcheme commenced, in idea, before the concluſion of the peace in 1763. The project was flattering to the Miniſter, becauſe it gave him an immenſe increaſe of patronage, and if any cauſe can be aſſigned for his preferring Florida to Porto Rico, it muſt be the further increaſe of patronage, and making Florida into two governments. A junto of ſycophants and confidents, whom Lord Bute encouraged, and with whom he principally ad-

 viſed,

vised, eagerly embraced this project of distributing the American revenues amongst their relations and dependents.

When the peace was concluded, the British army was not withdrawn. Several pretences were made for keeping it in America; such as an Indian war, and the necessity of having garrisons in the back settlements. The first measure was a division of the country into military districts, with a brigadier-general in each, all of them depending upon the commander in chief, who was totally independent of the civil power.

This scheme of new-modelling the governments in America, in order to increase the power and patronage of the crown, was the sole cause of the war, and the loss of America. It is true, that occasional circumstances were the immediate causes of particular events; but it is always to be remembered, that those circumstances, and every instruction sent to America, from the resignation of Mr. Pitt in the month of October 1761, to the defeat of General Burgoyne in the month of October

1777, originated in the great deſign of rendering America ſubſervient to the purpoſes of the Miniſter.

The prominent features of the grand plan were theſe: Firſt, to raiſe a revenue in America by act of parliament, to be applied to ſupport an army, to pay a large ſalary to the governor, another to the lieutenant-governor, ſalaries to the judges of the law and admiralty: thus, the whole government, executive and judicial, was to be rendered entirely independent of the people, and wholly dependent on the Miniſter. Second, to make a new diviſion of the colonies, to reduce the number of them by making the ſmall ones more extenſive, to make them all royal governments, with an ariſtocracy in each. This order of ariſtocrats was not intended to be hereditary, but ſomething like the Lords of Seſſion in Scotland, for life only. But in a little time they would doubtleſs have become hereditary, like the nobility of France, whoſe origin is ſimilar. See the article in the Appendix marked L. Amherſt was the firſt perſon who ſuggeſted the idea of an American

 peerage;

peerage; at one time he had thoughts of being created an American peer, with precedency of all others.

In order to ſupport this military ſyſtem, which was only the baſis of the plan, it was neceſſary to create a fund to eſtabliſh a revenue, which would ſoon have been followed by a ſyſtem of corruption. This gave riſe to the American ſtamp act.

The American ſtamp act forms the other principal feature of Mr. Grenville's adminiſtration. The great zeal with which he defended this act, gave riſe to a general opinion that the act was his own meaſure; and it was not until near ſeven years after his death that the public were undeceived in this matter. On the fifteenth day of May in the year 1777, Mr. Charles Jenkinſon, who had been private ſecretary to Lord Bute, and is now Earl of Liverpool, ſaid in the Houſe of Commons, "That the meaſure of the ſtamp act was not Mr. Grenville's; if the act was a good one, the merit of it was not due to Mr. Grenville; if it was a bad one, the errors

errors or the ill policy of it did not belong to him."

Whether the account of the ſpeech is perfectly correct, as to the exact words of it, may be uncertain: but it is unqueſtionably true, that the ſpeech aſſured the Houſe, that Mr. Grenville was not the author of the ſtamp act. He adopted it, becauſe it was agreeable to his ideas of raiſing a revenue in America. Thoſe who flattered him with this unhappy notion, were refugees from America, who were driven from thence for miſconduct, and who, in motives of reſentment, offered their ſeveral plans for diſtreſſing America. Unfortunately this project of a ſtamp act was adopted, without reflecting that a greater revenue was obtaining from America by an increaſing trade, and an increaſing population, than was practicable by any direct mode of receiving it. Commerce gave it copiouſly, but circuitouſly; and though this abundantly increaſed the wealth of both countries, and, as Lord Chatham ſaid, carried us triumphantly through the great ſeven years war, yet it was not intelligible to the country gentlemen,

nor ſo flattering to the friends of prerogative, as the patronage of an army of revenue officers.

Although Mr. Grenville fell into this fatal ſyſtem, yet he was not at firſt particularly attached to the meaſure of the ſtamp act. His ardent deſire was to gain a revenue from America. His wiſhes went no further; and as to the mode, he was then indifferent to it, whether it was by ſtamps or any thing elſe. In the month of March 1764, he propoſed in the Committee of Supply a number of reſolutions concerning America; one of which was this ſtamp act; the other reſolutions all paſſed, but this was put off till next year. At the end of the ſeſſion, the American agents went to him in a body. Of the conference which took place between the Miniſter and the agents, Mr. Iſrael Mauduit has given an account; but as the paper is in few hands, it will not be improper to print it here.

"I ſhall give a plain narration of facts, which fell within my own knowledge, and which I think it a debt due from me to Mr. Grenville's memory to relate.

"In

"In the beginning of March 1764, a number of resolutions, relative to the plantation trade, were proposed by Mr. Grenville, and passed in the House of Commons.

"The fifteenth of these was: 'That, towards the further defraying the said expences, it may be proper to charge certain stamp duties in the said colonies and plantations.'

[The agent for Georgia, in his account of this conference with Mr. Grenville, explains this resolution in these words: "In the year 1764, the colonies were made acquainted through their agents, that a revenue would be required from them, *towards defraying the charge of the troops kept up among them.*"]

"The other resolutions were formed into the plantation act: but the fifteenth was put off till the next session: Mr. Grenville declaring, that he was willing to give time to the colonies to consider of it, and to make their option of raising that, or some other tax. The agents waited separately on Mr. Grenville

upon this matter, and wrote to their ſeveral colonies. At the end of the ſeſſions we went to him, all of us together, to know if he ſtill intended to bring in ſuch a bill. He anſwered, he did; and then repeated to us in form, what I had before heard him ſay in private, and in the Houſe of Commons: 'That the 'late war had found us ſeventy millions, and 'left us more than one hundred and forty 'millions in debt. He knew that all men 'wiſhed not to be taxed: but that in theſe unhappy circumſtances, it was his duty, as a 'ſteward for the public, to make uſe of every 'juſt means of improving the public revenue: 'that he never meant, however, to charge 'the colonies with any part of the intereſt of 'the national debt. But, beſides that public 'debt, the nation had incurred a great annual 'expence in the maintaining of the ſeveral 'new conqueſts, which we had made during 'the war, and by which the colonies were ſo 'much benefited. That the American civil 'and military eſtabliſhment, after the peace 'of Aix-la-Chapelle, was only 70,000*l.* per 'ann. It was now increaſed to 350,000*l.* 'This was a great additional expence incurred

'upon

'upon an American account: and he thought, 'therefore, that America ought to contribute 'towards it. He did not expect that the 'colonies should raise the whole; but some 'part of it he thought they ought to raise. 'And this stamp duty was intended for that 'purpose.

'That he judged this method of raising 'the money the easiest and most equitable; 'that it was a tax which would fall only 'upon property; would be collected by the 'fewest officers; and would be equally spread 'over America and the West Indies; so that 'all would bear their share of the public 'burden.'

"He then went on: 'I am not, however, 'set upon this tax: if the Americans dislike 'it, and prefer any other method of raising 'the money themselves, I shall be content. 'Write therefore to your several colonies; 'and if they choose any other mode, I shall 'be satisfied, provided the money be but 'raised.'

"Upon

"Upon reading over this narration with Mr. Montagu, who was then agent for Virginia, and present at this conference with Mr. Grenville, I have his authority to ſay, that he entirely aſſents to every particular.

"All theſe particulars I had before heard from Mr. Grenville, in the Houſe of Commons, and at his own houſe; and had wrote to the Maſſachuſet's aſſembly accordingly,

"The following extracts contain their anſwer on this head:

'SIR, Boſton, June 14, 1764.

'The Houſe of Repreſentatives have re-'ceived your ſeveral letters, &c. *

'The actual laying the ſtamp duty, you 'ſay, is deferred till next year, Mr. Grenville 'being willing to give the provinces their 'option to raiſe that, or ſome equiva-'lent tax; deſirous, as he was pleaſed 'to expreſs himſelf, "to conſult the eaſe

'and

'and quiet, and the good-will of the 'colonies."

'If the eafe, the quiet, and the good-will 'of the colonies are of any importance to 'Great Britain, no meafures could be hit 'upon, that have a more natural and direct 'tendency to enervate thofe principles, than 'the refolutions you inclofed.

'The kind offer of fufpending this ftamp 'duty in the manner, and upon the condi'tion you mention, amounts to no more than 'this, that if the colonies will not tax them'felves, as they may be directed, the parlia'ment will tax them.

'You are to remonftrate againft thefe mea'fures, and, if poffible, to obtain a repeal of 'the fugar act, and prevent the impofition of 'any further duties or taxes on the colonies. 'Meafures will be taken that you may be 'joined by all the other agents.'

"One of thefe meafures was the printing this letter, and fending it the other colony affemblies.

"After

"After their own expreſs acknowledgment therefore, no one, I ſuppoſe, will doubt, but that they had the offer of raiſing the money themſelves; and that they refuſed it. Which is all that I am concerned to prove.

ISRAEL MAUDUIT."

This paper is inſidious. The inſinuation is obvious; it is this, that America refuſed to give any aid or aſſiſtance to Great Britain: no inſinuation could be more unjuſt than it was. Becauſe the Americans refuſed to tax themſelves in the year 1764, when they were deeply in debt, does it follow that they never would comply with *any requiſition* from the mother country? They often had done it. The point in diſpute was, *not* whether the Americans would be taxed, but whether they ſhould be taxed as the Britiſh and Iriſh are, by an aſſembly choſen by themſelves; or by an aſſembly in which they never had a ſingle repreſentative. At the time the ſtamp act was paſſed, America was in ſuch a ſituation as made the attempt to tax her, not leſs *unjuſt* than impolitic: the teſtimony of Governor Bernard upon this ſubject is deciſive. The following extracts are made from his ninth letter:

"Boſton,

"Boston, Nov. 23, 1765.

. . . . "A little consideration would have made it *at least doubtful*, whether an inland taxation of the Americans was practicable or *equitable* at this time. If I had had the question put to me, I think I should have proved the negative in both particulars. It must have been supposed, that such an *innovation* as a parliamentary taxation would cause a great alarm, and meet with much opposition in most parts of America. *It was quite new to the people, and had no visible bounds set to it.* The Americans declared they would not submit to it before the act passed; and there was the greatest probability that it would require the utmost power of government to carry it into execution. . . . . Was this a time to introduce so great a novelty as a parliamentary inland taxation into America? Nor was the time less favourable to the *equity* of such a taxation. I don't mean to dispute the reasonableness of America contributing to the charges of Great Britain, when she is *able*; *nor, I believe, would the Americans themselves have disputed it at a proper time and season.*

But

But it ſhould be conſidered that the American governments themſelves have, in the proſecution of the late war, *contracted very large debts*, which it will take ſome years to pay off, and in the mean time occaſion *very burdenſome taxes* for that purpoſe only. For inſtance, this government, which is as much beforehand as any, raiſes every year thirty-ſeven thouſand five hundred pounds ſterling, for ſinking their debt, and muſt continue it for four years longer, at leaſt, before it will be clear. . . . . It were much to be wiſhed that America could be brought to the ſtate it was in two years ago, when there was a general diſpoſition to ſubmit to regulations and *requiſitions*, neceſſary to the reformation of the governments, and aſcertaining their relation to Great Britain. But that time is *paſt*, and *not to be retrieved*."

Without entering into the wiſdom, the policy, or the intereſt of the American ſtamp act, which would now be nugatory, and labour loſt; it may not be unuſeful, as hiſtory, to add, that Great Britain had confined all the American trade to herſelf; that the Americans had

had ſubmitted to this limitation, becauſe it was for the general good of the empire. And here it would be uncandid not to admit their argument, in the way of balance, to the charge made againſt them of refuſing to be taxed. They ſaid that they ought to be allowed as credit, in the account of the national income and expences, the ſum of money which they loſt by being obliged to ſell their commodities *cheaper* to Great Britain, than they could get for them at foreign markets: this difference they averred was a tax upon America, for the good of the empire. They were obliged likewiſe to take commodities from Great Britain, which they could purchaſe *cheaper* elſewhere. This difference they inſiſted was alſo a tax upon America for the good of the empire. And they further aſſerted, that three millions of Americans, (which at that time was the ſuppoſed number of them advanced to the ſtate of maturity,) by being obliged to export to Great Britain only, and to import from Great Britain only; and the quantities of Britiſh manufactures which they conſumed, ultimately paid more taxes and duties than any three millions of perſons in Great Britain

or

or Ireland; and they appealed to the public accounts for the truth of this aſſertion.

If the features of this very ſhort ſtatement are acknowledged to be thoſe of juſtice and truth, it muſt follow, that the impolicy of attempting to tax America, at this time, is eſtabliſhed: but here it is to be remembered that policy made no part of the conſideration. A great deſign had been formed of altering the government of America, and this diſtinct meaſure was only a *gradus* in the elevation. Mr. Grenville was the dupe of the deſigners, without perceiving it. His idea was to gain a *revenue* from America, it went no further: but their idea was to make a *new conqueſt* of America, which extended to every thing, and did not leave to the inhabitants any thing which they could call their own. If this plan had ſucceeded, the Americans would have been as abſolute ſlaves to the minions of Lord Bute, as the Engliſh were to the ſoldiers of William the Conqueror.

In the year 1765 Mr. Grenville was removed from the adminiſtration, in the manner

that

that has been related in the preceding Chapter; and many of the ſubſequent events having alſo been related in the preceding Chapter, it is not neceſſary to repeat them here. In the year 1766, during the adminiſtration of the Marquis of Rockingham, the ſtamp act was repealed, not with a view of cruſhing the intended colonial ſyſtem, but as a meaſure of expediency to reſtore tranquillity. The miniſtry do not ſeem to have viewed the ſtamp act as a part of a plan of ſubjugation; but Lord Chatham ſeems to have viewed it in that light, when he ſaid, (in the debate upon the repeal,) "I rejoice that America has reſiſted. Three millions of people ſo dead to all the feelings of liberty as to ſubmit to be ſlaves, would have been fit inſtruments to make ſlaves of the reſt."

In the ſame ſeſſion that the ſtamp act was paſſed, another bill was introduced, making it lawful for military officers in the colonies to quarter their ſoldiers in *private* houſes. This was indiſputably with a view of enforcing the grand deſign of entire ſubjugation. The coloniſts were all alarmed: the agents and

American merchants all oppoſed it, declaring, that under ſuch a military power no one could look upon his houſe as his own, or think he had a home, when ſoldiers might be thruſt into it, and mix with his family, at the pleaſure of an officer: upon which this part of the bill was dropt. But there was another clauſe in it which obliged the aſſemblies to find quarters for the ſoldiers, and to furniſh them with firing, bedding, candles, beer, rum, and other articles, at the expence of the colony, which paſſed into a law; and was not repealed with the ſtamp act.

Notwithſtanding there were frequent changes of miniſters in the ſubſequent years, yet the junto of confidants, who had been originally entruſted with a plan againſt America, perſevered throughout every adminiſtration, (except Lord Chatham's,) in making advances towards the attainment of the grand object; until at length the colonies were driven into rebellion, independence, and ſeparation. Philip the Second loſt the Netherlands in the ſame manner.

Aſſurances were made to Mr. Grenville, that America had entertained thoughts of independency ſo early as the year 1757; and to confirm theſe aſſurances, ſome letters, written, it was aſſerted, by the Marquis de Montcalm, Governor of Canada, in the years 1757, 1758, and 1759, ſtating theſe opinions, were put into his hands. Mr. Grenville gave full credit to theſe papers: after his death they were publiſhed. All the Americans reprobated them as forgeries, they inſiſted that Montcalm never wrote them, that they were fabricated to deceive and provoke the Engliſh government againſt America. This opinion prevailed with the public, and the letters were in general diſcredited.

There is another circumſtance of Mr. Grenville's adminiſtration which it may not be improper to take notice of.

A little time after the concluſion of the war, the baſe money which had been coined, and forced into circulation during the war, by the King of Pruſſia, and ſome other powers, having come into the hands of merchants, bankers, and traders, who had been

obliged to receive it, the depreciation of it, on the return of peace, fell upon, and ruined many of them; and would have extended the ſame fate to many more; and to ſeveral in England, who were connected with the houſes in Amſterdam, Hamburgh, and Berlin, which were the greateſt ſufferers, had not Mr. Grenville zealouſly interpoſed with his whole weight and authority, as miniſter, in their favour. He requeſted the Britiſh merchants to give a liberal credit to the houſes abroad, which were injured by this depreſſion, and inſtead of limiting, to increaſe their exports to them; and he requeſted of the Governors and Directors of the Bank of England, to give their full countenance to the Engliſh houſes by an ample diſcount of bills. By thus lending the aſſiſtance of the Britiſh government in a critical hour, he ſtopped the alarm of a general failure, which might ſpread throughout Europe in a very little time. Mr. Grenville was entitled to great praiſe for the perſonal exertions he made in this important buſineſs. It may be truly ſaid of him, that he ſaved the credit of almoſt every bank in Europe.

Mr.

Mr. Grenville's ſpirited behaviour on the French ſeizing Turk's Iſland in the year 1764, his Navy bill, his bill for trying controverted elections, together with ſeveral other circumſtances of his conduct, are traits of his character, which reflect great honour on his memory as a miniſter, and particularly as a legiſlator. But theſe matters have been all ſtated in other books, and it is not the deſign of this work to repeat what has been already printed; except the extracts and papers in the Appendix, which are explanatory and ſcarce.

Two months after his deceaſe, which happened in the month of November 1770, ſeveral of his friends, who had been attached to him in the hopes of his return to power, offered themſelves to Lord North, and were accepted. When the Earl of Suffolk came to kiſs hands on being appointed Lord Privy Seal, the King ſoothed him, with ſaying, "That he lamented very much the loſs of his Lordſhip's friend, that great and good man Mr. Grenville, who was an honour to human nature." And upon another occaſion, the

King expreſſed the ſame ſentiments of Mr. Grenville: this was on the delivery of the Spaniſh reſcript in the month of June 1779; when his Majeſty ordered all his cabinet miniſters to attend him at the Queen's Houſe in St. James's Park. They were ſhewn into the library, where there was a long table, and chairs for every one of them, and an armed chair at the top for himſelf. They were deſired to be ſeated, which being done, his Majeſty made a long ſpeech to them. He began with expreſſing his regard for Mr. Grenville, and his concern for the loſs of him; and afterwards declared his reſolution to carry on the war againſt America, France, and Spain; and if they approved of it, he gave them an aſſurance of his firmeſt ſupport. They all acknowledged their perfect devotion to his Majeſty's commands.

CHAPTER XIX.

THOMAS WHATELY, Esq.

His Tracts. Letters to him from Governor Hutchinson and Lieutenant Governor Oliver, shewn to different Persons; sent to America by Dr. Franklin. Resolutions in America upon them. Petition to remove the Governor and Lieutenant Governor. Duel between Mr. Temple and Mr. William Whately.

THIS gentleman was Secretary to the Treasury during Mr. Grenville's administration. He was the author of two tracts written in defence of Mr. Grenville.

The first was called "Remarks on the Budget." A pamphlet had been published, called "The Budget," which contained a severe attack on Mr. Grenville's measures of finance, and the Remarks were a defence of those measures in answer to it.

The other tract was called "Confiderations on the Trade and Finances of this Kingdom, and on the Meafures of Adminiftration, with refpect to thofe great National Objects fince the Conclufion of the Peace." This is another defence of Mr. Grenville's fyftem of finance, and of the principal meafures of his adminiftration, in which there is a good deal of ufeful information.

The moft remarkable circumftance concerning this gentleman is relative to his American correfpondence, on account of the confequences which attended it. In the years 1767, 1768, and 1769, Thomas Hutchinfon, Efq. Governor of Maffachufetts Bay, and Andrew Oliver, Efq. Lieutenant Governor, wrote feveral letters to Mr. Whately, giving very full accounts of the ftate of the province, the difpofitions of the principal inhabitants, the meafures which they conceived moft proper to be taken, and their own opinions and fentiments upon all thefe at confiderable length. The fubjects of all thefe letters being the public affairs of America, which at that time engaged the public attention in England,

and being written by perſons in high authority, Mr. Whately ſhewed them to Mr. Grenville, who ſhewed them to Lord Temple, and they were ſeen by other gentlemen. When Mr. Whately died, which was in the month of June 1772, theſe letters came into the poſſeſſion of a gentleman, who put them into the hands of Dr. Franklin, at that time agent for the province of which they gave ſo full an account: Dr. Franklin ſent them to the Speaker of the Houſe of Repreſentatives of Maſſachuſetts Bay. In the month of June 1773, the Speaker laid them before the Houſe. On reading them, the Houſe was highly offended with the Governor and Lieutenant Governor; ſeveral ſtrong reſolutions againſt them were agreed to; two or three of which will be ſufficient to quote, to ſhew the ſenſe of the Houſe.

"Reſolved, That it clearly appears from the letters ſigned Tho. Hutchinſon and Andrew Oliver, that it was the deſire and endeavour of the writers of them, that certain acts of the Britiſh Parliament for raiſing a revenue in America might be carried into effect by military

military force. That there have been for many years paſt meaſures contemplated, and a plan formed by a ſet of men, born and educated among us, to raiſe their own fortunes, and advance themſelves to poſts of honour and profit, not only to the deſtruction of the conſtitution of this province, but at the expence of the rights and liberties of the American colonies. That the ſaid perſons have been ſome of the chief inſtruments in the introduction of a military force into the province to carry their plans into execution. That this Houſe is bound in duty to the King and their conſtituents, humbly to remonſtrate to his Majeſty the conduct of his Excellency Thomas Hutchinſon, Eſq. Governor, and the Honourable Andrew Oliver, Eſq. Lieutenant Governor of this province, and to pray that his Majeſty would be pleaſed to remove them for ever from the government thereof."

Conformable to the laſt reſolution, the Houſe agreed to a petition to the King to remove the Governor and Lieutenant Governor for writing the letters to Mr. Whately. This petition was heard before the Privy Council

Council at Whitehall, on the 29th day of January 1774; when it was diſmiſſed after a long ſpeech made by Mr. Wedderburne, now Lord Loughborough, in defence of the Governor and Lieutenant Governor, in which he reproached Dr. Franklin with great ſeverity and bitterneſs for ſending the letters to America.

When it was known in England that the letters to Mr. Whately had been laid before the Houſe of Repreſentatives of Maſſachuſetts Bay, the ſuſpicion of ſending them to America fell upon Mr. John Temple, an American gentleman at that time in England; and there were ſome circumſtances, which, before they were explained, ſeemed to give foundation to the ſuſpicion. This matter brought on a duel between Mr. Temple and Mr. William Whately brother of Mr. Thomas Whately. As the circumſtances were ſingular, the reader will find an account of them in the Appendix, marked M.

Mr. Whately alſo wrote a tract on laying out pleaſure grounds and gardens.

CHAPTER XX.

CHARLES LLOYD, Esq.

Names of the Tracts written by him.

THIS gentleman was private secretary to Mr. Grenville, during the time that gentleman was First Lord of the Treasury, and author of many political tracts, chiefly written in vindication of that minister's conduct. They were principally the following:

"The Anatomy of a late Negotiation." The negotiation here spoken of, is that which Lord Bute brought on between the King and Mr. Pitt, in the autumn of the year 1763. The facts are purposely misrepresented, to make Mr. Pitt appear haughty and Lord Bute versatile.

"A Vindication of the Conduct of the Ministry in the case of Mr. Wilkes." This relates

relates to the apprehenſion of Mr. Wilkes by the general warrant, his commitment to the Tower, and his diſcharge by the Court of Common Pleas; highly commending the miniſtry for their zeal in defending the honour of the King.

"A Defence of the Majority in the Houſe of Commons, on the Queſtion relating to General Warrants." This was an anſwer to Mr. Townſhend's Defence of the Minority on the ſame queſtion. It was in reply to this Defence of the Majority that the celebrated "Letter on Libels and Warrants" was writtten.

"An Honeſt Man's Reaſons for declining to take a Part in the New Adminiſtration." This was the adminiſtration of 1765, commonly called the Rockingham Adminiſtration. The reaſons aſſigned are, that Lord Bute removed the late miniſtry, and in a little time would remove the preſent. It was aſcribed very generally to Lord Lyttelton, becauſe his Lordſhip had refuſed the offers which were made to him.

"A Cri-

" A Critical Review of the New Adminiſtration." This is an anſwer to two pamphlets written by Sir Grey Cooper; one was called " A Pair of Spectacles for ſhort-ſighted Politicians;" the other, " The Merits of the New Adminiſtration truly ſtated." See the article of Sir Grey Cooper.

" The Conduct of the late Adminiſtration examined, relative to the Repeal of the American Stamp Act." This tract (which is upwards of two hundred pages) is an able compoſition, and the greateſt part of it, if not all of it, was dictated by Mr. Grenville himſelf. Thoſe perſons who wiſh to ſee a defence of the ſtamp act, and a diſplay of what the writer conſiders the impolicy of repealing it, will read this work with pleaſure.

Mr. Burke having written a little tract called " A ſhort Account of a late ſhort Adminiſtration," Mr. Lloyd wrote an anſwer to it, which was called " A true Hiſtory of a late ſhort Adminiſtration." Theſe ſmall tracts contain all the features of the Rockingham adminiſtration in miniature.

"An Examination of the Principles and boaſted Diſintereſtedneſs of a late Right Hon. Gentleman; in a Letter from an old Man of Buſineſs to a Noble Lord." This tract was written upon the change of the miniſtry in the year 1766, when Mr. Pitt, who is the right honourable gentleman alluded to, was created Earl of Chatham. The noble Lord to whom it is pretended to be a letter was Lord North. It is a vindication of Lord Temple's conduct in rejecting the offers of the court, and blames Lord Chatham for accepting them.

"A Word at Parting, to his Grace the Duke of Bedford." This ſmall tract was occaſioned by the Duke of Bedford's friends joining the miniſtry at the end of the year 1767, and abandoning Mr. Grenville.

Beſides theſe, he wrote many Eſſays and Letters in the public papers, on political temporary ſubjects, which are now loſt. He was brother to the Dean of Norwich.

CHAPTER XXI.

WILLIAM KNOX, Esq.

Advocate for the American War. Secretary to Lord George Germaine. His State of the Nation; aſſiſted by Mr. Grenville. Other Publications.

THIS gentleman was another of Mr. Grenville's friends; and was a very ſtrenuous and perſevering advocate of the Britiſh meaſures againſt America. He was agent for Georgia; and Under Secretary of State to Lord Hillſborough, and to Lord George Germaine, during the American war. To his zeal and ſuggeſtions, many of the unfortunate meaſures againſt America were aſcribed, and he ſuſtained much hatred from the Americans on that account. He was the author of ſeveral tracts on American ſubjects, the principal of which was,

"The Controverſy between Great Britain and her Colonies reviewed." It is obviouſly a work of much labour, and contains extracts from many papers. The writer's view is to ſupport the right of Great Britain to tax America.

He was alſo the writer of a tract intitled "The Preſent State of the Nation; particularly with reſpect to its Trade, Finances, &c." This pamphlet was, at firſt, aſcribed to Mr. Grenville; and Mr. Burke, by his pamphlet intitled "Obſervations upon it," gave a temporary currency to that opinion. Mr. Grenville undoubtedly aſſiſted the writer with materials and arguments, but the compoſition belongs entirely to Mr. Knox. It conſiſts principally of a defence of Mr. Grenville's miniſtry and meaſures, and a condemnation of the Rockingham miniſtry, and their meaſures.

Mr. Knox has alſo publiſhed two ſmall volumes, called "Extra-official State Papers;" which contain many uſeful hints.

The two following Letters are not unworthy of the reader's notice:

"SIR, 5th March 1783.

"Letters having been written to the Secretary of the late Board of Trade, and to my colleague, for the laſt ſix months, as Under Secretary of State in the American department, and to all the clerks who have been deprived of their ſituations in thoſe offices by their ſuppreſſion, acquainting them, that the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury had made them all allowances in compenſation of the incomes they had been deprived of; and no ſuch letter having come to me, I am conſtrained to give you the trouble of this letter, to requeſt the favour of you to move their Lordſhips to permit you to inform me on what account it is that I, who had ſerved as Under Secretary to every Secretary of State that has filled the American department, from its inſtitution to its ſuppreſſion, and even attended the Earl of Shelburne when that department was abſorbed in the domeſtic, until his Lordſhip was more ably ſerved, ſhould be the only perſon paſſed over upon this

I occaſion

occasion without compensation, and even without notice.

"I am, Sir, &c.

"WILLIAM KNOX.

"GEO. ROSE, Esq."

Copy of Mr. ROSE's Answer, dated 17th of March 1783.

"SIR,

"Upon reading to my Lords Commissioners of the Treasury your letter, dated the 5th instant, respecting a compensation for your office of Under Secretary of State for the American department, I am directed to acquaint you, that my Lords are of opinion that you have no claim whatever to a compensation for the loss of your office, you having already a pension of six hundred pounds a-year for yourself, and the like sum for Mrs. Knox.

"I am, Sir, &c.

"GEO. ROSE."

CHAPTER XXII.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

Public Prejudice. His Conduct in early Life, and Character. Behaviour at Fontenoy. His Quarrel with Prince Ferdinand. His Conduct at Minden. Observations upon it. Antient Virtue. Modern Indifference. Commencement of the American War. Letter of the late Sir Joseph Yates. Answer to it. Lord George Germain appointed Secretary of State. Management of the London Gazette. Surrender of Lord Cornwallis. Disagreement in the Ministry. The Misfortune of Lord Cornwallis imputed to Lord Sandwich, and to Lord George Germain. This Disagreement appears in Parliament. Conduct of Mr. Dundas and Mr. Rigby. Application to Sir Guy Carleton. Substance of his Letter to the Lord Chancellor. Meeting of the

Secret

Secret Cabinet. Lord George Germain removed.

AN unfavourable opinion, haſtily adopted, was formed of the character of this noble Lord, from his conduct at the battle of Minden; and, like moſt precipitate opinions of character, was not wholly juſt, for whatever reprehenſion his conduct on that day might deſerve, it ought not to extend to every other circumſtance of his life.

At an early age he ſhewed himſelf worthy of his anceſtors. Nature had been to *him* a generous, a partial parent: ſhe had equally beſtowed her ſtriking ornaments on his external form, and on his mind. To a graceful perſon, and to an agreeable, manly, and expreſſive aſpect, ſhe had joined an accurate judgment, acuteneſs of thought, and elegance of imagination. Without theſe properties, in ſome degree, learning and manner, however elaborately impreſſed on the body and on the intellect, produce but cold effects.

During his youth, he became converſant with the manners of the court. There he ſoon acquired that inſtantaneous politeneſs, that habitual eaſe and flexibility of behaviour, which, within the limits of ſtrict moral honour, improve and refine the man. But to deceive and to betray, thoſe barbarous arts which are daily taught, and conſummately practiſed in the circle of a court, he never would adopt.

This encomium is not taken from vague report; nor is it the language of adulation. It is the opinion of officers who ſerved under him, and who were his intimate acquaintance. The picture of him which they drew did much honour to the original. They have affirmed, that in his behaviour as a man, and in his deportment as a commander, dignity was moſt happily tempered with eaſe, and the ſtrictneſs of military diſcipline with mildneſs and affability;—that he was a moſt inſtructive and engaging companion, a moſt faithful and zealous friend, and a moſt humane protector of his dependents. And from whom are we

to

to expect, rather than from those by whom he was thus represented, a true account of his social qualities? He has been accused of pride and haughtiness, but the charge is more invidious than true. As from great abilities naturally proceeds an energy of existence, they are generally attended with at least a temperate majesty of manner, and elocution, which may be very remote from pride; the sordid vice that commonly occupies a frivolous or a stupid mind. Besides, as it is the peculiar property of pride to hurt and disgust, and as vigorous and fine talents are sure to hurt and disgust understandings of a low class, the undistinguishing pigmies confound ideas, and as they are alike affected by pride and genius, they mistake both for the same object. There are likewise pressing junctures, in which the truly great man will break through the established forms, the polite moderation of the world, and ardently assert his natural and inalienable prerogatives. He will repel impertinence or insolence with an air and eloquence that petrify, with a lightning that withers his aggressor. The puny soul shrinks back into its little dark cell, appalled and confounded.

founded. No wonder if, ever after, it attributes the juſt and ſpirited reproof to habitual pride, that immoral and deſpicable quality. It would be impoſſible for a man of extraordinary mental endowments, to atone to the vulgar of the human race for his incommunicable pre-eminence, without ſinking to a timid and abject behaviour. Moſt exorbitant are the demands of dull, vain, and ſelfiſh mortals. They are for inverting the order of the intellectual creation, and would have us cringe to *them*. But certainly the lines in which our ſpecies is diſtinguiſhed by Ovid from the other animals, may be applied, with a ſingular propriety and emphaſis, to the man of tranſcendent capacity—

> Os Homini ſublime dedit, cœlumque tueri
> Juſſit, et erectos ad Sidera tollere vultus.

At the battle of Fontenoy, which was fought in the year 1744, he was wounded by a muſquet-ball. The wound was accidental, and only affected his body. His collected and manly behaviour, on that memorable day, was courage and principle. And it is well known that in his duel with Governor John-

ſtone

ſtone (the particulars of which the reader will ſee in the Appendix, marked N.) he acquitted himſelf with a firmneſs and ſpirit which were never excelled on a ſimilar occaſion. From theſe facts no doubts can be entertained of his perſonal courage.

In the affair of Minden, it is not proper to view him with a prejudiced or an indulgent eye, but with impartial and accurate obſervation. And the appeal is made to thoſe whoſe habitual and uniform benevolence is not merely the conſequence of an ingenuous nature, but likewiſe of expanded thought and reflection; to thoſe whoſe active and ſpirited candour flows from an enlarged and comprehenſive knowledge of mankind; who in analyſing the conduct of a man, never forget that the generous virtues are connected with ſtrong paſſions; and that though there have been many bright characters, there was never one immaculate. No honeſt man can heſitate to pronounce him faulty. He ought to have advanced with the Britiſh horſe, to complete the rout of the French infantry; he was not reſtrained from advancing by fear,

but

but by a *personal resentment*. He had not been properly respected by the commander of the allied army; and he had *determined*, when opportunity should offer, to check the luxuriant growth of Prince Ferdinand's laurels. Phlegm, sullenness, inhumanity, and a most inordinate love of power, are the characteristics of a German mind. He only delights in riot and homicide, like his Thracian god, Mars, to whom he sacrifices many human victims, and to whom he pours many profuse libations. As Prince Ferdinand's ideas were confined to the Gothic system, he felt not, he knew not what respect was due to a son of one of the first families in England, and to a soldier adorned with the arts of the milder Minerva. He was likewise exasperated against Lord George Sackville, who had counteracted the rapacity of this commander in chief, and had opposed his measures in councils of war, whenever he thought them injudicious. It is not necessary here to enter into a scrutiny of Prince Ferdinand's conduct; but it may be observed, that officers have said that he owed his military fame far more to fortune than to prudence,

and a consummate knowledge in the art of war. Indeed in every department of life, it is not so much our merit as our success that gains us applause.

His free sentiments on the plans and operations of the campaign, and his watchful and penetrating inspection into military avarice, necessarily brought on him the extreme hatred of the commander in chief; who therefore was industrious to deprive him of that esteem and deference to which he was well entitled from the army. And if Lord George, with a susceptible constitution, and conscious of his natural and acquired superiority, as a man, over a high-rated myrmidon, retaliated the malice of the petty Prince with a permanent and keen disgust; the circumstance shews, that it is possible a man not wanting in courage, may suffer his private passion to influence his public duty. Such differences have frequently happened in every service, between great officers; and have as frequently been highly injurious to the public interest. It ought to be in the penetration of a minister to discover these differences;

and

and whenever they happen, he ſhould always withdraw one of the parties.

The keenneſs of irritation and the ſmart of inſult may offer ſome apology to the generous heart and the enlightened mind, though it cannot excuſe the fault. Paſſion is conſtitutional; but it is better that a character ſhould be ſhaded by a warm and vigorous feeling, than by one that is cold and puſillanimous. It muſt give more pleaſure to an Engliſhman to find, that it was reſentment, not cowardice, that ſuſpended the march of the cavalry in the plains of Minden.

If we review the lives of eminent men in private and public ſtation; whoſe actions, on the whole, were good or great; we ſhall meet with ſome palpable offences againſt moral rectitude, and perhaps ſome crimes. In the virtuous times of thoſe illuſtrious republics, Carthage and Rome, both the ſtates were injured by the private animoſities of ſome ſenators and commanders, who, notwithſtanding, had many excellent qualities, and did ſignal ſervices to their reſpective countries.

A truly

A truly wiſe man will dignify his life with ſobriety, diligence, and integrity, whether he be in a public or private capacity, for his own ſake; to ſecure thoſe ineſtimable rewards, which are the conſequences of virtue. But to ſay that an Engliſhman ought to toil or bleed for every ſyſtem of politics that a miniſter thinks proper to adopt, is almoſt the rant of inſanity. Corruption, both public and private, is in its zenith; yet we talk as if we lived in an antient and ſimple commonwealth, whoſe wants were limited by nature; where every paſſion was cool, except ardour for the public good; where that ardour was earneſtly inculcated by precept, and emphatically enforced by ſtriking examples; and where it conſequently animated every member of the ſtate. We talk as if we lived in Old Rome (long before ſhe was decorated with her glaring magnificence); but when ſhe had riſen to the ſummit of real grandeur; when Curius boiled his turnips at his Sabine farm; when Cincinnatus held his plough; and when a hoſtile king could neither frighten Fabricius with the new ſight of his elephant, nor allure him with his gold.

It is this deception of ourſelves that has brought us into ſo many difficulties. An attention to what we affect, and a regard to what we owe to ourſelves, and to poſterity, might have prevented many evils. The American war was unneceſſary, unjuſt, and unprovoked. It is impoſſible the people of this country could have been duped into an approbation of that war, if they had given a proper attention to the meaſure at the beginning; but that blind confidence to which they have habituated themſelves, gives opportunity and facility to any miniſter to exerciſe a deſpotic authority, wherever he pleaſes.

The American colonies had attained the full vigour of manhood. They conſidered themſelves as bound to us by the indiſſoluble ties of common origin, of common names, common language, religion, and intereſt; and there ſubſiſted between us and them the happieſt reciprocation of wealth, affection, and power.

In the year 1775 the Britiſh nation was precipitated into a war with theſe colonies; the

the causes of which have been already related in Chapter xviii. under the head of Mr. Grenville. From this war, as from the womb of the Trojan horse, have issued a thousand calamities. It has been pregnant with disasters to all Europe; nor is it yet known what may be the extent of its effects.

Lord George Germain was one of those members of parliament who approved of this war at the commencement of it; he had adopted all those opinions which were hostile to America. He conceived that Great Britain had a right to lay taxes on America. He implicitly imbibed the whole extent of Mr. Grenville's opinions and principles. This was so perfectly agreeable to the secret and confidential cabinet of the court, that immediately after hostilities had been commenced against America, he was put at the head of the American department, and official spies were placed about him to betray his measures, and by every art and falsehood were used to confirm him in his opinions. These spies were the confidants of the secret cabinet; and were placed in every office to give information

of every thing that was tranſacting there, to ſuggeſt meaſures, to lay down plans, and to alter them at the pleaſure of the ſecret, unreſponſible, and unconſtitutional miniſters.

An opinion has prevailed, that his adoption of Mr. Grenville's ideas and principles reſpecting America, was in no ſmall degree influenced by a letter written by the late Sir Joſeph Yates, one of the Judges of the Court of King's Bench, upon this ſubject. If it be true, that ſuch letter was a primary cauſe of ſo much miſchief, it is an hiſtorical curioſity; and will pleaſe all thoſe perſons who have been of opinion that Great Britain had a *right* to tax America. The following is a copy of it:

Copy of a Letter from the late Sir Joſeph Yates, *to* Chriſtopher Griffith, *Eſq. Member for* Berks, *relative to the Diſpute between* Great Britain *and her Colonies.*

"The American colonies are the ſubject of every converſation—well may it be ſo, for the criſis is very alarming.

"How

"How far the taxation was prudent or unfeafonable, or whether the rates would be too high or not, I will not take upon me to form any judgment; but the right to tax them is fo clear and felf-evident, that I am aftonifhed there fhould be any doubt about it; thofe who doubt, contend that no tax can be impofed without the confent of the people by their reprefentatives; that the Americans have no reprefentation in parliament, &c.

"But the true conftitution is, That no money can be levied by the crown without the confent of the great council of the realm, that is, the parliament. To that council the rights of the fubjects are entrufted as the barrier between the crown and the people: a barrier againft the ftrides of prerogative, which, in the reign of King John, were enormous till his abitrary laws were reftrained by Magna Charta. By that charter it is ordained, that no talliage or aid fhall be impofed but by the common council of the realm; in that body, the will of the whole people is repofed by the conftitution; they

are the ſtated guardians of the rights and liberties of the ſubject; the platform that was laid when the conſtitution was framed, and to which all our anceſtors aſſented. To talk of perſonal repreſentation of every individual is abſurd; for ſtrictly ſpeaking, no man is the perſonal repreſentative of another, but who is actually choſen, and deputed by the perſon repreſented.

"But how many millions are there in this kingdom who have not a vote for a member of parliament, and yet are as liable to be taxed as the largeſt freeholder? The truth is, that every ſubject of the Britiſh dominions, in whatever latitude the territory may be, is equally ſubject to the Britiſh legiſlature ſo long as he reſides upon the territories, and enjoys the protection of the Engliſh government; he owes an allegiance and ſubmiſſion to its laws; and whatever the nature of thoſe laws may be, if the legiſlature enact them, they are equally obligatory. Were it left to the Americans to diſtinguiſh between laws, and to deſire what ſort they would ſubmit to,

and what they would reject, there would ſoon be an end of all their ſubjection.

"The conſent of parliament gives an equal ſanction to all kinds of laws; and the ſame conſent that is neceſſary to a money-bill, is neceſſary to any other law. And it is admitted, that all acts of parliament for the regulation of trade in the colonies, are binding upon them. In ſhort, if the Americans are ſubjects at all, they are ſubjects to the laws and ſovereignty of their mother country: and to controvert that power, to deny the obligation of its laws, is hardly conſiſtent with ſubjection. And where is the injuſtice of taxing the Americans? Where protection is given, a tribute is due; and thoſe who enjoy the benefit of a government, owe their ſhare and contribution to the expences of maintaining it.

"The Americans are allowed all the rights and privileges of an Engliſh ſubject; they are entitled to inherit any poſſeſſions here, and have their properties at home protected by our laws: why then ſhould they be exempt

from the common burden of every ſubject; eſpecially from thoſe expences which their own protection occaſions?

"I have given you a ſketch of my own ſentiments in this matter, becauſe I imagined it is a topic in the country, as well as in town.

"Thurſday, Jan. 30, 1763. J. Y."

There are a few words in one of Lord Chatham's ſpeeches, which contain a full anſwer to this opinion of the Judge.

"Taxation is no part of the governing or legiſlative power. The taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the Commons alone. In legiſlation the three eſtates of the realm are alike concerned, but the concurrence of the Peers and the Crown to a tax, is only neceſſary to cloſe with the form of a law. The gift and grant is of the Commons alone. In ancient days, the Crown, the Barons, and the Clergy, poſſeſſed the lands. In thoſe days, the Barons and the Clergy gave and granted to the Crown. They gave and granted what

was

was their own. At prefent, fince the difcovery of America, and other circumftances permitting, the Commons are become the proprietors of the land. The property of the Lords, compared with that of the Commons, is as a drop of water in the ocean; and this Houfe reprefents thofe Commons, the proprietors of the lands; and thofe proprietors virtually reprefent the reft of the inhabitants. When, therefore, in this Houfe we give and grant, we give and grant what is our own. But in an American tax, what do we do? We, your Majefty's Commons for Great Britain, give and grant to your Majefty, what? Our own property?—No. We give and grant to your Majefty the property of your Majefty's Commons of America. It is an abfurdity in terms."

Lord George Germain having fupported Lord North in the bills for altering the government of Maffachufett's Bay, and fhutting up the port of Bofton, was appointed Secretary of State for the American department; by which the conduct of the war againft America was, in a great degree, put into his hands.

This was not a ſituation, at the time it was undertaken, for caution and timidity; for the chicane of a Mazarine, or the chimera of a Duke of Orleans; but for the bold and decided policy of a Richlieu and a De Retz.

How his Lordſhip ſucceeded in his new ſituation, it is not the deſign of this work to relate. The circumſtances of the American war are in general pretty well known.

There was a paper aſcribed to Richard Burke, Eſq. (brother to Edmund Burke, Eſq.) on the ſubject of managing the London Gazette, at leaſt it was ſo intitled, in printing the accounts from America during the war, that was much taken notice of; and as it ſhews that thoſe accounts are not to be depended upon, the reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee it preſerved. It is in the Appendix, marked O.

After waging war with America, by ſea and land, from the beginning of April 1775, to the month of April 1782, at an immenſe expence

expence of blood and treaſure, the court, and people of Great Britain, diſcovered that the continuation of the war was impracticable.

Two fine armies had been captured, and more men could not be obtained.

When the intelligence arrived in London, that Lord Cornwallis and his army had ſurrendered, the miniſtry immediately quarrelled amongſt themſelves. They laid the cauſe of this diſaſter upon each other; but at length they ſettled it upon only two perſons: theſe were Lord Sandwich, and Lord George Germain. And it was reſolved, that one of theſe muſt go out.

Thoſe who laid the blame upon Lord Sandwich, contended, that the misfortune was owing to the not having a ſufficient naval force on the American ſtation.

Thoſe who laid the blame upon Lord Germain, contended, that the misfortune was owing to the plan of operations.

It is not neceſſary to ſtate the facts, upon which theſe two opinions were founded. They have been publiſhed by Lord Cornwallis and Sir Henry Clinton, in vindication of themſelves.

The contention upon the queſtion, whether the Secretary of State, or the Firſt Lord of the Admiralty, ſhould be removed, laſted ſome time.

In this divided ſtate of the miniſtry, parliament met; and on the firſt day of the ſeſſion it was obvious to every one, that the diſpute was not ſettled. In the debate on the addreſs, Lord George Germain ſaid, "That his opinion was, notwithſtanding the ſurrender of Lord Cornwallis, that if Great Britain gave up the ſovereignty of America, we were undone." Mr. Dundas, Lord Advocate of Scotland, contradicted, and reprobated this opinion ſeverely; and Mr. Rigby, who was Pay-maſter, bluntly ſaid, "We were beaten, and therefore muſt give up the plan of the war." When parliament adjourned for the Chriſtmas holidays, the diſpute continued open.

It

It is certain, that when Lord George Germain delivered his opinion, he thought he delivered the opinion of a much greater authority than his own. But he was not entrusted with the *real secret*. There were other persons who were honoured with a larger share of confidence than he was at this time: and this party triumphed. They resolved to remove Lord George Germain from office; and to recall Sir Henry Clinton from America, who had requested it; and to make one measure the consequence of the other, although there was no connection between the two cases; but in order to make a connection between them, they applied to Sir Guy Carleton to succeed Sir Henry Clinton; they were perfectly well assured, that Sir Guy Carleton would not go to America, while Lord George Germain continued Secretary of State for the American department. The manœuvre succeeded. Sir Guy Carleton wrote a letter to the Lord Chancellor, (Lord Thurlow,) saying, in substance, that he could not accept the command under the American Secretary. The Lord Chancellor carried this letter into the closet.

On

On Wednesday the 2d of January 1782, previous to the levee, there was a meeting of Lord Mansfield, Lord Hillsborough, Lord Stormont, Lord North, and Mr. Jenkinson, now Earl of Liverpool, at his Lordship's house in Parliament-street. At this meeting, it was finally decided to remove Lord George Germain.

When Lord George was informed that his fate was decided, he desired leave to resign, to avoid the disgrace of being turned out, which favour was allowed him; and to lighten his fall, he was created an English peer.

After hawking the office about for some time, Mr. Ellis, now Lord Mendip, was prevailed upon to accept it: and, to preserve an appearance of consistency, Sir Guy Carleton was appointed successor to Sir Henry Clinton.

CHAPTER XXIII.

DAVID HARTLEY, Esq.

His Tract intitled "Right of Appeal to Juries, in Causes of Excise, asserted." The Budget. Intended Prosecution of that Tract. His State of the Nation. Letters to his Constituents of Hull. Acquaintance with Dr. Franklin. Appointed Minister Plenipotentiary. His Tract on the French Revolution.

THIS gentleman has written several tracts, which have been held in great estimation. The first was intitled, "The Right of Appeal to Juries, in Causes of Excise, asserted." This tract was occasioned by the extension of the Excise laws to the makers of cyder and perry, in Lord Bute's administration, in the year 1763. The reader will not be displeased with the following extract from it.

"The argument of those who support the principle of the cyder-act may be stated thus: Cyder

Cyder made for the consumption of each private family, ought, by all principles of equality, to pay some duty; but such a tax cannot be raised by a constitutional mode of excise;" [the difference between the constitutional and unconstitutional mode he defines to be this, the former is limited to the trader, the latter is extended to every private house;] "therefore, we must seek our remedy by a capitation on the cyder drinkers. Well then, we are to hope that this capitation will be levied in a constitutional manner. Let us judge: the exciseman is to be armed with unlimited powers of search, from the barn without to the closet within; with an alternative offered to each person thus visited, of escaping all this vexation upon a certain composition for the duty. Now, because there is an alternative offered, this is said to be a law formed upon the principles of liberty; for no man is forced under this excise: the law only compels him under intolerable pains and penalties to a voluntary payment. I wish some clear-sighted man would explain to me the difference between these two cases: the ministry send me notice, that I shall have a troop of excisemen,

men, or a troop of horſe, (no matter which,) quartered upon me; and in a poſtſcript they ſubjoin, that a troop of horſe is but (as the gentlemen of the long-robe ſay) a fiction in law; and if I will pay half-a-crown a-head for my family, I ſhall hear no more of the exciſemen, or the troop of horſe, till the next time. Another man (not ſo correct perhaps in his ſpelling) writes me word that he will ſet fire to my houſe, unleſs I depoſit ten guineas under a certain tree. The argument of the miniſtry is, can you complain of a burden as intolerable, when we offer you ſo reaſonable an alternative, as that of paying your half-crowns? My illiterate correſpondent ſays, is not your houſe worth ſaving at ſo ſmall a price as ten guineas? Shooting at you behind a hedge, or burning your houſe, are but fictions in law: pay your money quietly, and ſleep in peace till it comes to your turn again. The principle in theſe two caſes is the ſame; I wiſh their fates had not been different. The one is branded as it deſerves in the black act; while the other ſtalks abroad in open and inſolent defiance.

"It is a grievance throughout the whole ſyſtem of the exciſe laws, that caſes of appeal at the ſuit of the ſubject, are not to be tried by juries. I ſhall examine the merits of the queſtion, of allowing an appeal to juries, upon the following topics: whether it will tend to the diminution of the revenue, in ſuch exciſes as only affect the trader; and whether it will not ſpecifically apply a remedy to the intolerable grievances of an unconſtitutional exciſe, and diſappoint a farther extenſion of this horrid mode. As to the firſt, it is ſaid, that in trials between the crown and ſubject, juries will ſoon get into a habit of deciding againſt the crown. To which I reply, that the revenue of the cuſtoms bears a conſtant teſtimony againſt this ſtrange principle: for if this ſuppoſed infamous partiality of juries were ſo notoriouſly to be depended upon, why does not every man who has a duty of the cuſtoms to pay, leave the matter to trial for the chance of evading it? Aſk the lawyers who have pleaded for the crown, whether juries do not feel the force of their arguments, that every fraud committed to the detriment of the revenue, and connived at, is an

an act of oppreſſion and injuſtice to the fair trader? There is no argument or experience to fix ſo deteſtable an imputation upon an Engliſh jury. What intereſt can a jury be ſuppoſed to have between the crown and a petty trader; a ſoap-boiler, for inſtance, or a tallow-chandler? Are theſe the objects of popular adoration, againſt whom no jury ſhall give their profane verdict? If not, where is the danger to the revenue of exciſe, as confined to the trader and retailer, if juries be allowed? Why ſhould the Miniſter have power or influence to inflict any tax, (under the ſevereſt pains and penalties to be decided without appeal,) which no twelve jurymen in the kingdom ſhall think conſiſtent with liberty? This is the touchſtone of exciſe: will it endure an open appeal to juries? If it will, it is admiſſible; if not, no.

"There are two kinds of exciſe, the one limited to the trader; the other, extended to the concerns of private and domeſtic life. The appeal to juries in the one is expedient, in the other indiſpenſable; as well to prevent the

the encroachment, as to defeat the tyranny of a general excise."

His next tract was intitled "The Budget. Inscribed to the Man who thinks himself Minister." For some time, this tract was attributed to Sir George Savile, and the late Right Honourable Charles Townshend, in his defence of the Minority, on the question relating to general warrants, gave currency to this opinion, for he said in it, "That Lord Halifax might issue out another general warrant under pretence of the last libel the Budget; and he may order, as he did before, six messengers to inquire for the author, and to seize upon any person whom they think proper, and his papers; and what law remains in allowed force to deter them from seizing, upon the ground of received opinion, the person of that honourable gentleman, whom some people allege they know, and many believe, to have been, in part at least, the author of that excellent and unanswered work? In this case it is true, the outcry would be great and general, from the character of the person thus

thus treated; his ancient family; his extenſive, though concealed generoſity, and his popularity in that large manufacturing and wealthy county, which he repreſents with ſuch entire ſatisfaction to his conſtituents, and ſo much reputation to himſelf." See the article in the Appendix marked P.

Perhaps Sir George Savile might give to Mr. Hartley ſome aſſiſtance, but the latter gentleman was undoubtedly the writer. The Budget was a very ſharp attack upon Mr. Grenville's plan of finance for the year 1764. Mr. Grenville was very much hurt by it. There was a paragraph in it, near the end, upon which he intended to have inſtituted a proſecution. The paragraph was as follows:

"There is a degree of malice in the preſent miniſtry, againſt their country, that is beyond example. They forced themſelves by violence and intrigue into the conduct of public affairs, at a time when the general voice of their country was loudly againſt them. They came in to expoſe the pretended nakedneſs of their country, to an enemy

enemy who was at the laſt gaſp. They vilified our advantages; they falſified our ſituation; they proclaimed our diſtreſs in the moſt exaggerated terms, when that very diſtreſs, compared with the real calamities of our enemies, was triumph. Upon that fatal day, when this ſyſtem of miniſtry came to the helm, was firſt promulgated the deſolation and debility of this country. Inſtead of ſhewing to our enemies the hopeleſſneſs of their ſituation, they gave them encouragement to expect an univerſal confuſion here; miniſter lying in wait to perplex miniſter; brother to ſupplant brother; and the whole ſyſtem of affairs thrown into a treacherous conſternation. Advertiſements went to the enemy, that, if they would hold their breath a few hours, we would raiſe the clamour for peace here; inſtead of telling them, that we had at that moment the funds for two years to come, viz. the beer duty granted in December 1760, and the ſpirit duties, which had been granted the preceding ſeſſion, but were poſtponed for the ſervice of the year 1762; [and even Mr. Whately, in his Conſiderations on Trade and Finances, admits that

 money

money to carry on the war, might, at that time, have been obtained at three per cent.] which at the pinch of the war, is the point gained; and, therefore, that they (the enemies) could have nothing to hope for, but ſtill to be beaten for two complete years, by an enemy in the full career of victory. Neither could this prove a vain boaſt, for the faculties of this country were ſo far from being exhauſted, that, at that hour, we were provided with funds for more money than all our previous ſucceſſes had coſt us: inſomuch, that on the eighteenth of December 1760, the parliament having provided twelve millions for the next year, we had ſtill left another fund capable of producing twelve millions more, to be poſtponed for the ſervice of a farther year, being thus ſuperabundantly provided. In this height of glory did the evil genius of this country aim the fatal blow, which has reduced us to be faithleſs and friendleſs throughout the world."

Upon the preceding extract, the opinion of the Honourable Mr. Charles Yorke was taken; and he pronounced it to be a libel: but

but Mr. Grenville consulted some of his friends, who thought differently from Mr. Yorke; and the opinion prevailing, that the Budget had been written by Sir George Savile, it was not judged prudent to commence a prosecution against a character of such eminence and respectability.

In the year following, (1765,) Mr. Hartley wrote another tract on the same subject, which he called, "The State of the Nation; with a preliminary Defence of the Budget." This defence of the Budget was a reply to the tract intitled "Remarks on the Budget," which had been written under Mr. Grenville's eye, by Mr. Charles Lloyd, who was his private secretary. The State of the Nation consisted of Mr. Hartley's account of the finances of that year.

At the commencement of the year 1768, he published another tract on the finances, which he intitled "A Caveat on the Part of Public Credit, previous to the opening of the Budget for the present Year 1768."

 The

The celebrity of these tracts, and his general knowledge of finance, induced his friends to wish to see him in parliament.

He was accordingly elected for Kingston upon Hull; but not until the American troubles had commenced. His conduct in Parliament was almost confined to questions and motions relating to those troubles. His constant and most anxious desire was a reconciliation between the mother country and her colonies. His frequent motions in parliament in order to obtain peace with America, and his arguments in support of those motions, are to be found in the Parliamentary Register of that time. But a tract which he published, intitled "Letters on the American War; addressed to the Mayor, Corporation, and Burgesses of Hull;" contain his own statement of his conduct in parliament; together with many facts and arguments which are not any where else to be met with.

These letters develope the causes, and state the impolicy of the war with America, in a very strong and intelligent manner: and his being

being the intimate friend of Dr. Franklin, Mr. Digges, and ſeveral other American gentlemen, during their reſidence in England, previous and until the commencement of the war, leaves no doubt that the ſeveral facts, deductions, and arguments, therein ſtated, are all of them well founded; and therefore are peculiarly intereſting to the future inquirer. The impartial hiſtorian of this period, if ever ſuch a perſon ſhould ariſe, will receive an invaluable fund of materials from this gentleman's writings.

His thorough knowledge of the American ſubject, and his intimacy with Dr. Franklin, pointed him out as the moſt proper perſon to negotiate the treaty of peace with America, in the year 1783. He was accordingly appointed Miniſter Plenipotentiary to Paris, for that purpoſe, and concluded the treaty.

In the year 1794 he wrote another tract, which he intitled "Argument on the French Revolution, and the Means of Peace." In this tract, Mr. Hartley has ſtated the cauſes and importance of the French revolution, in the

cleareſt

cleareſt manner poſſible: an extract from it will therefore not be unacceptable to the reader.

"The French," he ſays, "fell into civil conteſts, a few years ago, reſpecting ſome propoſed reformations of their political conſtitution. In the period of three years, from 1789 to 1791, the reformations were completed, and the conſtitution renovated upon principles of reaſon and inveſtigation, with the aſſent of the then King and People of France. From a deſpotic it became a limited monarchy; all the intolerable grievances of deſpotiſm being expelled, and the new government reformed, as nearly as the caſe would admit, upon principles ſimilar to the limited monarchy of Great Britain.

"It does not appear that ſurrounding nations thought very deeply of the reſulting and influential example of deſpotiſm reformed within the bounds of reaſon and Britiſh liberties. The ſovereigns of Europe, blinded with faſtidious deſpotiſm, ſeemed to deſpiſe

NATI MAHAL.

the influence of reafon as unworthy of their regard. But when the fyftematic perfeverance of three years had brought the great work into a practicable fhape, they began to fear the influential example of reformed defpotifm, and from that period confederacies of European powers were formed for the deftruction of the new conftitution of France, and for the partition of its territory. The dates of thefe conventions and treaties were long before any hoftile preparations on the part of France. The treaty of Pavia was on the 6th of July 1791; the convention of Pilnitz on the 26th of Auguft 1791; and various other preparatory treaties, on the part of the fovereigns of Europe, were formed in the courfe of the year 1791. Of all thefe matters, explanations were demanded on the part of France, and refufed by the combined powers; and (according to the cuftoms of nations) France declared war upon the refufal of various neceffary explanations—fuch as, the caufe of armaments by the combined powers, the coalition with the French emigrants, fupplying them with arms, &c. &c.

"All these points are now become facts of notoriety.

"The French did not declare war with the Emperor until the month of April 1792, which was many months subsequent to various treaties and confederacies entered into against France by the Emperor, and most of the European powers. The forbearance on the part of France, considering the notoriety of various treaties against themselves, with the public and avowed support, inrolment, and arming of the emigrants, was very much within the ordinary forbearance of independent states, and in no degree to compare, for peremptory promptitude of defiance, to the proceedings of the British ministry, in the year 1756, in taking 25,000 seamen from the French, before the declaration of war. In the dubious state of alarm in which the National Assembly found themselves involved, in the beginning of the year 1792, it was undoubtedly not their interest to provoke hostilities with all surrounding nations. They were fully apprised of the hostile disposition of the European powers to their new consti-

conſtitution, and ſtill more apprehenſive of the inſincerity of the French court itſelf, againſt the reformed conſtitution, although it had been accepted by the King, with the fulleſt profeſſions of choice and complacence. The great object of jealouſy, at that time was the Auſtrian Committee, ſo called; of the exiſtence of which, the proofs or preſumptions are not within our view, any farther than as they may argue, that the French were urged into the war, by confederacy of councils, as well as preparations of arms againſt them.

"I dwell upon the indiſpoſition of the French to be involved in univerſal war, becauſe it was ſo much their intereſt to have avoided it, in the beginning, and ſtill more remains their intereſt now, to be extricated from war. From thence I draw this inference, that the French will be diſpoſed, at any moment, to concur in the abatement of the war, on the condition of being left unmoleſted by other nations, reſpecting their new conſtitution; and on their parts leaving all other nations unmoleſted in all their dominions

minions and forms of government, and all other interefts whatfoever.

"A very notorious proof occurred in the commencement of the revolution, to fhew, that the new government of France neither had, nor could have, any intereft in difturbing the governments of other countries, not even in a cafe where an obvious fraternity of caufe feemed to call upon them. The States of Brabant, by their Plenipotentiary, M. Vandernoot, prefented a letter of requifition to the Affembly and the King, requefting the interpofition of the power of France, in fupport of their recent claims of emancipation from the dominion of the Emperor, their fovereign. But the National Affembly totally refufed all aid and interference; they perfifted, through the courfe of an whole twelvemonth, to remain tranquil and paffive by-ftanders, whilft the Imperial power purfued and effected the complete re-conqueft of the Auftrian Flanders, by force of arms. This refufal to interfere in any civil conteft, foreign to them, continued through the whole of the year 1790; but after the year 1791, when the Emperor Leopold

pold began to negotiate a general confederacy of the powers of Europe againſt the new conſtitution of France, the National Aſſembly took up, with rage, the cauſe of Belgic liberty, as an act of hoſtility to that prince, who had put himſelf at the head of the grand confederacy of ſovereigns, againſt the liberation of the commons of France. This act was therefore an act of defenſive hoſtility, after a previous declaration of war againſt the Emperor.

"Similar conduct ſtands in frequent example among nations. Henry IV. of France, and Queen Elizabeth of England, did both ſupport the original revolt of the Belgic provinces againſt Philip II. of Spain. Charles I. of England ſupported the proteſtant inſurgents at Rochelle, againſt the tyranny of the crown of France, during the adminiſtration of Cardinal Richlieu: but the power of Richlieu prevailed, and the French nation has groaned under the cruelties of deſpotiſm, from that fatal day, until the preſent revolution of liberty and rights. Louis XIV. and Louis XV. ſupported various rebellions againſt the decided conſtitutions of theſe kingdoms.

doms. Louis XVI. ſupported the American cauſe againſt the claims of taxation and legiſlation on the part of Great Britain.

"There is no device of war more ſtudied, or more frequently put into practice, than exciting civil tumults in an enemy's country. If the French Convention had confined their decrees of revolutionary fraternization, ſpecifically to nations with whom they were actually at war, or under ſuch violent preſumption of meditated injury, as would have juſtified a declaration, or an act of war, (according to the laws of nations,) no exception could have been taken to their conduct. But their declarations were general and unqualified, and therefore gave general and juſtifiable offence. When the miniſtry of Great Britain remonſtrated againſt the unqualified generality of fraternizing decrees, the French miniſtry gave an explanation, which although it might not be conſidered as the obvious conſtruction upon the decree of November 19, 1792, was, however, a proferred explanation, and therefore might have been accepted as the *amende honorable*, reducing the principle of

of revolutionary fraternization to the qualified case, towards nations in hostility. It was a most unfortunate measure, infinitely to be lamented, that the qualifying explanation was not accepted. If it had been accepted, all the miseries of war might have been saved, and we might have been at peace now. No nation is to be presumed, from a lapse of phrase, subsequently retracted, to remain in the persevering intention of doing any act, not only contrary to their retractation, but, most of all, contrary to their interest.

"The French nation have given a full proof in the case of the Belgian revolution, that they are not ready to declare themselves the universal champions of revolutionary liberty, throughout the world. There was great prudence of conduct in that restraint. Neither has that prudence deserted them at this hour. In their new constitution of June 1793, they have inserted, as a fundamental and declaratory principle, the political independence of nations. They say, 'they will 'not interfere in the government of other 'nations; they will not suffer other nations

'to

'to interfere with the government of their 'own.' (Article 119 of the *acte constitutionel* of the French Republic, 1793.) I am anxious to explain this point: becauſe it appears to me to have been the only embarraſſment to the negotiation of peace. The article preceding that above-mentioned (viz. article 118) is very ſignificant on this head of clearing the way to negotiation of peace: viz. article 118, 'The French people are the friend 'and natural ally of *free people*.' The peculiar view of this article is to expreſs, that fraternization does not commence except with nations, either in poſſeſſion, or in the active vindication of civil freedom, by the univerſal and unequivocal exertion of the national will: thereby ſignifying that they do not offer their fraternization to urge nations to the overthrow of any governments exiſting in tranquillity, for the purpoſe, even of political emancipation, by the excitement of a civil war. They have felt the offence which a lapſe of preciſion in phraſe has excited againſt them; and therefore they purſue the recovery of that lapſe, by the peace-offering to all foreign nations, contained in theſe two articles.

"It

"It is not poſſible that the French nation can have any other view than peace, and the poſſeſſion of their new conſtitution. The ſubſtance of this article 118, is preciſely the conſtruction which M. Chauvelin offered to the Britiſh miniſtry, in abatement of the offence which had been taken with the unqualified fraternizing decree of November 1792. If the confederate nations have any real deſire for peace, conſiſtent with ſecurity to themſelves, the purport of theſe overtures is moſt evidently calculated to give them full ſatiſfaction. They are a peace-offering to thoſe who are willing to underſtand.

"We are ſurrounded in a world of conſternation. Novel principles of ſociety have now taken poſſeſſion of the minds of men throughout the world. The ſcience of politics is no longer limited merely to the arrangement of a balance of powers between the various members of any community, as in a ſtate of contentious ſociety: the doctrine of free compact, founded on the Rights of Man, is now claimed by mankind in a maſs, as their indefeaſible right. Twenty-five millions

lions of men have thrown down the gauntlet in that cause. By this principle the rights in society are now to be decided; the challenge is loudly proclaimed, and will not brook evasion or delay. I suspect the compulsive application of this principle is nearer to all despotic governments than is generally apprehended. We cannot but recognize a principle capable of that application, in recent events, which have already decided in one moment of time the total fate of the French revolution. A London Gazette, reciting the tumults of October 5 and 6, 1789, states, that 'the word to fire was no sooner given, than 'the *Regiment de Flandre* clubbed their arms 'to a man, and other regiments also laid 'down their arms.' An important secret is here developed; which is, that the multitudinous and inferior ranks of men, who stand in rank and file, have a decisive negative in all civil contests, by clubbing their arms to a man. The contest in France has been a civil war between two classes of men; the one class consisting of twenty-four millions, the other class of one million. The high, few; the many, low. From the highest pinnacle to

to the loweſt abyſs! A horrid chaſm between! In this tremendous chaſm has the deſpotiſm of France been ingulphed.—A ſermon of deep inſtruction to mankind!

"There is another royal document that generalizes the foregoing. It bears the title of 'Reaſons that his Pruſſian Majeſty oppoſes 'to the general Armament of the Inhabitants 'of the Empire of Germany,' *viz.* (after ſome previous, but not unimportant matter)

'That it is infinitely dangerous at a time 'like the preſent, when the French are watch'ing every advantage to inſinuate their prin'ciples, to aſſemble ſuch a maſs of men, 'whoſe ideas upon forms of government 'muſt be various, and amongſt whom, con'ſequently, diſſenſions might ariſe, diſaſtrous 'in their conſequences both to the armies and 'to the conſtitution of the empire.'

"This declaration baffles all comment, and defies all aggravation. The whole empire of Germany is declared to be on the tiptoe of inſurrection, congenial in ſentiment, and pre-

meditating

meditating in their hearts to follow the example of France. All the expecting millions of the German empire are thus superadded to the actual millions of revolutionists in France. And if these are truths respecting the nations of Germany and France, it follows, by inevitable consequence, that all other millions throughout *despotic* nations of Europe are in a state of preparation and promptitude to receive those principles of resistance to despotism, which the French are watching every advantage to insinuate. The arguments in this manifesto have no bounds; they generalize the principles of the French revolution, to the predestinated destruction of every *despotic* government throughout the world."

CHAPTER XXIV.

JOSIAH WEDGWOOD, Esq.

His Discoveries, Taste, and Merits as a Manufacturer: as a Philosopher: as an inland Navigator. His institution of an Association in London, which he called the General Chamber of Manufacturers of Great Britain. His Opposition to Mr. Pitt's Propositions concerning the Trade with Ireland. Account of the Chamber of Manufacturers. The Members of the Chamber differ on the Commercial Treaty with France. The Chamber dissolved.

HE was the maker of his own fortune; and his country has been benefited by his exertions in a proportion not to be calculated.

His many discoveries of new species of earthen wares and porcelains, his studied forms and chaste style of decoration, and the correctness and judgment with which all his works

works were executed under his own eye, and by artiſts for the moſt part of his own forming, have turned the current in this branch of commerce; for, before his time, England imported the finer earthen wares, but for more than twenty years paſt he has exported them to a very great annual amount, the whole of which is drawn from the earth, and from the induſtry of the inhabitants; while the national taſte has been improved, and its reputation raiſed in foreign countries.

His inventions have prodigiouſly increaſed the number of perſons employed in the potteries, and in the traffic and tranſport of their materials from diſtant parts of the kingdom; and this claſs of manufactures is alſo indebted to him for much mechanical contrivance and arrangement in their operations; his private manufactory having had for thirty years and upwards, all the efficacy of a public work of experiment.

Neither was he unknown in the walks of philoſophy—His communications to the Royal

 Society,

Society, of which he was a member, ſhewed a mind enlightened by ſcience, and contributed to procure him the eſteem of ſcientific men at home, and throughout Europe.

At an early period of his life, ſeeing the impoſſibility of extending conſiderably the manufactory he was engaged in, on the ſpot which gave him birth, without the advantages of inland navigation, he was the propoſer of the Grand Trunk Canal, and the chief agent in obtaining the act of parliament for making it, againſt the prejudices of the landed intereſt, which at that time ſtood very high, and but juſt before had been with great difficulty overcome in another quarter by all the powerful influence of a noble Duke, whoſe canal was at that time the only one that had been conſtructed in this kingdom. The Grand Trunk Canal is ninety miles in length, uniting the rivers Trent and Merſey; and branches have ſince been made from it to the Severn, to Oxford, and to many other parts, and it will alſo have a communication with the Grand Junction Canal from Braunſton to Brentford.

He

He was the founder, and chief promoter, of an aſſociation of manufacturers in London; which he denominated "The General Chamber of the Manufacturers of Great Britain."

The occaſion of this inſtitution was, Mr. Pitt's propoſitions, in the year 1786, for adjuſting the commercial intercourſe between Great Britain and Ireland.

When theſe propoſitions were made public, Mr. Wedgwood ſaw them pregnant with infinite miſchiefs to the Britiſh manufacturers: with many he converſed, and to others he wrote. He was active and aſſiduous in writing and printing, upon this great national ſubject. He circulated his opinions in hand-bills, in letters, eſſays, and paragraphs, in the newſpapers; and by every poſſible mode that he could take, to alarm the manufacturers of the whole kingdom; and direct their attention to the ſeveral ſubjects, and parts of the propoſitions which affected their particular intereſts. Under a leader of ſuch penetration and induſtry, the aſſociation was quickly formed, of all the principal manufacturers,

who, by either perſonal attendance, or by delegates, became members of it.

Thomas Walker, Eſq. of Mancheſter, was, next to Mr. Wedgwood, the moſt ardent and active member. His account of the General Chamber of Manufacturers is worthy of notice.

With reſpect to the origin of the Chamber, he ſays, every one knew the occaſion of its being inſtituted at the time it was; and muſt be ſenſible, that it was intended to give that union and ſtrength to the manufacturing intereſts of Great Britain, which they had never before obtained, and which they never ſtood more in need of than at that period—to arreſt the hand then lifted up to give a moſt deep and dangerous wound to the manufactures of this kingdom. He alluded to the propoſitions ſent from the Iriſh to the Britiſh Parliament, for its aſſent.

When the alarm had taken place to a conſiderable degree, it was obſerved with concern, how little effect was produced by appli-

applications from ſingle and unconnected individuals. Their voice was too feeble to be heard alone. A meeting was therefore propoſed, and held, of manufacturers in London, and ſuch delegates and individuals from the country as were then in town, to conſider of their ſituation, as well as that of the Britiſh manufacturers at large, and the ſteps neceſſary to be taken, both for their preſent ſafety and future protection. The reſolutions entered into at that and the ſubſequent meetings were laid before the public.

Thus did the General Chamber of Manufacturers of Great Britain originate from the too well founded apprehenſions of imminent danger to ſome of their moſt eſſential intereſts as manufacturers; and not from any party or factious motives, as had been falſely aſſerted by ſome, and too eaſily believed by others.

One circumſtance he could not omit, as it exhibited a ſpirit of true patriotiſm in the gentlemen who compoſed the Chamber, and a confidence in the honour and integrity of their brethren, which did the higheſt credit

both

both to the one and to the other. The Chamber (he aſſerted, he ſpoke from his own perſonal knowledge) finding, that in the buſineſs before them, there was not a moment to be loſt, nobly diſdained to waſte any time, or a ſingle thought, upon pecuniary matters, which might be adjuſted afterwards at greater leiſure; but advanced, without heſitation, the money neceſſary for all immediate calls, and pledged themſelves for the reſt. This, he ſaid, was an inſtance of that unbounded confidence which, when occaſion calls for it, one honeſt member of a community ought to place in another; and this confidence would be continued among members of any ſociety, ſo long as there remained ſufficient virtue to deſerve it. And whilſt this confidence was preſerved and kept up between the body of Manufacturers and their General Chamber, it would be the ſureſt pledge to them of protection againſt any future intended blow, which might be too ſudden in its approach to admit of otherwiſe collecting the ſcattered ſtrength of the manufacturers to withſtand it, and too weighty in its nature for any ſingle arm to defend itſelf againſt.

With regard to the effects of the meaſures which had been taken from time to time by the members of the Chamber, it would require much detail to bring them forward to public view; but one of the principal ought by no means to paſs unnoticed.—When, to their utter aſtoniſhment, they were firſt informed, from undoubted authority, that the Iriſh propoſitions muſt neither be altered nor modified in any reſpect whatever, but muſt ſtand or fall preciſely in their original form; they immediately ſent a deputation to rhe Miniſter to pray for time, if it was even but for a few days, till they could conſult their conſtituents in the country; and upon receiving an abſolute refuſal, together with a confirmation of the above from the Miniſter himſelf, and a declaration, at the ſame time, that the buſineſs ſhould be brought on in the Houſe of Commons, in two days at fartheſt —a petition was immediately drawn up, ſigned, and preſented the next day to the Houſe, praying, that the petitioners might be heard by themſelves and counſel, againſt the propoſitions.——It was by this judicious and well-timed meaſure that the ruin at-

tendant upon the Irish propositions was first averted; and it was to the subsequent spirited and unwearied exertions of the Chamber, together with the support they received from the friends of our manufactures in both Houses of Parliament, that we owe the alterations which the propositions underwent, and the change of the original *eleven* into *twenty*; which, by procuring *time for due consideration*, caused the ultimate disgust conceived against the *whole*, by the most respectable and independent part of Parliament, and by almost, if not the whole, of the people of Ireland.

If, at that important crisis, there had not been a body ready to act with that promptness and resolution which the occasion demanded, if the manufacturers throughout the island must first have been consulted, the opportunity, so happily seized, would have been lost for ever, and the consequences in all probability would have been fatal to our best interests. The original propositions would, most probably, have been, at this day, the established law of the land; and many

many Britiſh manufacturers would have felt the ruinous effects of that law, before they became acquainted with its nature, or mode of operation. How many other important matters may yearly ariſe, and call for the like promptneſs both in deciſion and execution, the wiſeſt man could not foreſee: and if this inſtitution, even in its infant and unſupported ſtate, (rendered alſo, by the complexion of affairs at that time, ſo obnoxious to the Treaſury Bench, that it was determined it ſhould, if poſſible, be cruſhed,) if, in that ſituation, it had rendered us ſuch eſſential ſervices, what might we not expect from its riper years, when government ſhould be convinced of its integrity and impartiality, and place confidence in its informations—— when it ſhould be guided, patronized, and ſupported by the wiſdom and counſel, as well as by the purſes, of the principal and moſt experienced manufacturers throughout Great Britain?

The project intended by the Iriſh propoſitions being totally defeated, the members of the Chamber held their meetings only occaſionally.

casionally. But in the following year, 1787, an event happened which called forth all their active exertions. This was the commercial treaty with France, negotiated by Mr. Eden, now Lord Auckland. Upon this subject, Mr. Wedgwood was as ardent in support of Mr. Pitt, as he had before been against him. And Mr. Walker, viewing the commercial treaty in a very different light from Mr. Wedgwood, the Chamber became divided. Mr. Wedgwood, and those who were of his opinion, absented themselves; and in a little time the Association was dissolved. A few copies of the proceedings of the Chamber, concerning the treaty with France, were printed, but not published. As it is possible that in some future day they may be useful, the reader will see them preserved in the Appendix, marked Q.

CHAPTER XXV.

DR. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Founder of American Greatneſs. Bred at Boſton. Printer at Philadelphia. Comes to London. Returns to America. Made Clerk of the Aſſembly, and Poſt-Maſter of Philadelphia. Propoſes, with Succeſs, an Aſſociation to defend the Province. Elected a Member of the General Aſſembly. Diſputes between the Proprietaries and the Aſſembly. The Anſwers to the Governor's Meſſages, aſcribed to Dr. Franklin. Quotation from one of them. Made Poſt-Maſter-General of all America. Propoſes the Congreſs held at Albany. Plan of the Albany Union. Another Plan propoſed, and communicated to Dr. Franklin. His Anſwers to it. Northern Frontier attacked: levies Troops, and goes to protect it. Sent Agent to England. Settles the Diſputes between the Proprietaries and the Aſſembly. Honours conferred on him in Great Britain. Anſwers a Pamphlet written by Meſſieurs Burkes. Returns to America. Receives the Thanks of the Aſſembly,

Aſſembly, and rewarded for his Services. Appointed Agent again. His Conduct on this Occaſion well known. Viſits the Continent of Europe. Petitions, with others, for a Grant of Lands on the Ohio. Report of the Board of Trade againſt the Petition. Dr. Franklin's Anſwer to the Report of the Board of Trade. Prayer of the Petition granted. Lord Hillſborough reſigns on that Account. Affair of Hutchinſon's and Oliver's Letters. Dr. Franklin leaves England. War with America. Appointed Miniſter Plenipotentiary to France. His Conductors removed from the Queen's Houſe. Orrery deſtroyed in America. War ſhould not be made on the Sciences. Several Attempts to open a Negotiation with him at Paris. His Friendſhip for Mr. Silas Deane. Sends Mr. Thornton to England. Inſtance of Mr. Fox's great political Sagacity. Dr. Franklin concludes the Peace between Great Britain and America. He returns to America. His Philoſophy. Dies. Honours to his Memory.

OF this Philoſopher, Legiſlator, and Stateſman, it will be ſaid, that like the Czar, Peter the Firſt, he was the projector and founder of

of his country's greatneſs and power. He wiſhed moſt ſincerely for the continuance of the connection between Great Britain and her colonies; becauſe he was convinced, it was the mutual intereſt of both to preſerve it. But when he ſaw the councils of Great Britain violently proceeding to the point of enſlaving America, he devoted the force of his underſtanding and penetration to the intereſt of his country.

He was bred a printer at Boſton in New England. At the age of only ſeventeen years, he quitted his father at Boſton, and went to Philadelphia, where he followed his profeſſion ſome time. His talents ſoon diſtinguiſhed him. He was encouraged to go to London to perfect himſelf in the knowledge of his trade. He remained in London ſeveral years; after which he returned to Philadelphia, and commenced trade on his own account, as a printer and ſtationer, and met with the greateſt ſucceſs.

In the year 1736 he was appointed clerk to the General Aſſembly of Pennſylvania, and poſt-maſter of the city of Philadelphia.

In the year 1744, during the war between Great Britain and France, ſome French and Indians committed ſeveral depredations on the frontier inhabitants of the province, who were entirely defenceleſs. At this criſis Franklin ſtepped forth, and propoſed to a meeting of the citizens of Philadelphia, a plan of aſſociation, for the defence of the province. This was approved of, and ſigned by twelve hundred perſons immediately; and in a few days the number of ſigners amounted to ten thouſand. Franklin was choſen colonel of the Philadelphia regiment.

In the year 1747 he was choſen repreſentative for Philadelphia, in the General Aſſembly of Pennſylvania. Warm diſputes at this time ſubſiſted between the Aſſembly and the proprietaries; each contending for what they conceived to be their rights. Franklin, a friend to the rights of man from his infancy, ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf as an opponent to the ſchemes of the proprietaries. He was looked up to as the head of the oppoſition; and to him have been attributed many of the replies of the aſſemblies, to the

meſſages of the governors. His manner was plain and mild: his ſtyle of ſpeaking was, like that of his writing, ſimple, unadorned, and conciſe. With this plain manner, and his penetrating and ſolid judgment, he was able to confound the moſt eloquent and ſubtile of his adverſaries. In one of the anſwers of the aſſembly to the governor, there is a ſhort paſſage of great beauty and ſublimity. It is in theſe words; "Thoſe who would give up eſſential liberty, to purchaſe a little temporary ſafety, deſerve neither liberty nor ſafety." Upon which, the writer of the Hiſtorical Review of Pennſylvania makes this remark, "There is not in any volume, the ſacred writings excepted, a paſſage to be found better worth the veneration of free men." Page 290. edit. 1759.

In the year 1753, Dr. Franklin having conducted himſelf ſo well in the office of poſtmaſter for Philadelphia, was appointed poſtmaſter general for all America.

In the year 1754, when the French in Canada had made ſeveral encroachments on the

back ſettlements of the Britiſh colonies, and greatly interrupted their trade with the Indians, the meaſure of a general congreſs was ſuggeſted by Dr. Franklin, to conſiſt of commiſſioners from the different colonies. The idea was approved. The commiſſioners were appointed, and met at Albany in the month of July 1754, to form a plan of union for their common defence.

The plan they agreed upon was, in ſhort, this: "That a grand council ſhould be formed, of members to be choſen by the aſſemblies and ſent from all the colonies; which council, together with a governor general to be appointed by the crown, ſhould be empowered to make general laws to raiſe money in all the colonies for the defence of the whole." This plan was ſent to the government in England for approbation. America thought herſelf ſufficiently able to cope with the French, without other aſſiſtance; ſeveral of the colonies having alone in former wars withſtood the whole power of the enemy, unaſſiſted not only by the mother country, but by any of the neighbouring provinces. The plan, however,

ever, was not approved in England; but a new one was formed inſtead of it; by which it was propoſed, that “the governors of all the colonies, attended by one or two members of their reſpective councils, ſhould aſſemble, concert meaſures for the defence of the whole, erect forts where they judged proper, and raiſe what troops they thought neceſſary, with power to draw on the treaſury in England for the ſums that ſhould be wanted; and the treaſury to be reimburſed by a tax laid on the colonies by act of parliament.”

This new plan being communicated by Governor Shirley to Dr. Franklin, occaſioned the following letters from Dr. Franklin; which are worthy of preſervation, as hiſtorical documents:

“Sir, Tueſday morning.

“I return the looſe ſheets of the plan, with thanks, to your Excellency for communicating them.

“I apprehend, that excluding the *people* of the colonies from all ſhare in the choice

of the Grand Council, will give extreme dissatisfaction, as well as the taxing them by act of parliament, where they have no representative. It is very possible, that this general government might be as well and faithfully administered without the people, as with them; but where heavy burdens have been laid on them, it has been found useful to make it, as much as possible, their own act; for they bear better when they have, or think they have, some share in the direction; and when any public measures are generally grievous or even distasteful to the people, the wheels of government must move more heavily."

" Sir, Wednesday morning.

" I mentioned it yesterday to your Excellency as my opinion, that excluding the *people* of the colonies from all share in the choice of the Grand Council, would probably give extreme dissatisfaction, as well as the taxing them by act of parliament, where they have no representative. In matters of general concern to the people, and especially where burdens are to be laid upon them, it is of use to

consider,

consider, as well what they will be apt to think and say, as what they ought to think: I shall, therefore, as your Excellency requires it of me, briefly mention what of either kind occurs to me on this occasion.

"First, they will say, and perhaps with justice, that the body of the people in the colonies are as loyal, and as firmly attached to the present constitution, and reigning family, as any subjects in the king's dominions.

"That there is no reason to doubt the readiness and willingness of the representatives they may choose, to grant from time to time such supplies for the defence of the country as shall be judged necessary, so far as their abilities will allow.

"That the people in the colonies, who are to feel the immediate mischiefs of invasion and conquest by an enemy, in the loss of their estates, lives, and liberties, are likely to be better judges of the quantity of forces necessary to be raised and maintained, forts to be built and supported, and of their own abilities

abilities to bear the expence, than the parliament of England at ſo great a diſtance.

"That governors often come to the colonies merely to make fortunes, with which they intend to return to Britain; are not always men of the beſt abilities or integrity, have many of them no eſtate here, nor any natural connections with us, that ſhould make them heartily concerned for our welfare; and might poſſibly be fond of raiſing and keeping up more forces than neceſſary, from the profits accruing to themſelves, and to make proviſion for their friends and dependants.

"That the counſellors in moſt of the colonies being appointed by the crown, on the recommendation of governors, are often of ſmall eſtates, frequently dependent on the governors for offices, and therefore too much under influence.

"That there is, therefore, great reaſon to be jealous of a power in ſuch governors and councils, to raiſe ſuch ſums as they ſhall judge neceſſary,

neceſſary, by draft on the Lords of the Treaſury, to be afterwards laid on the colonies by act of parliament, and paid by the people here; ſince they might abuſe it by projecting uſeleſs expeditions, haraſſing the people, and taking them from their labour to execute ſuch projects, merely to create offices and employments, and gratify their dependants, and divide profits.

" That the parliament of England is at a great diſtance, ſubject to be miſinformed and miſled by ſuch governors and councils, whoſe united intereſts might probably ſecure them againſt the effect of any complaint from hence.

" That is ſuppoſed an undoubted right of Engliſhmen not to be taxed but by their own conſent given through their repreſentatives.

" That the colonies have no repreſentatives in parliament.

" That to propoſe taxing them by parliament, and refuſe them the liberty of chooſing

a repre-

a repreſentative council, to meet in the colonies, and conſider and judge of the neceſſity of any general tax, and the quantum, ſhews a ſuſpicion of their loyalty to the crown, or of their regard for their country, or of their common ſenſe and underſtanding, which they have not deſerved.

"That compelling the colonies to pay money without their conſent, would be rather like raiſing contributions in an enemy's country, than taxing of Engliſhmen for their own public benefit.

"That it would be treating them as a conquered people, and not as true Britiſh ſubjects.

"That a tax laid by the repreſentatives of the colonies might eaſily be leſſened as the occaſions ſhould leſſen, but being once laid by parliament under the influence of the repreſentations made by governors, would probably be kept up and continued for the benefit of governors, to the grievous burden and diſcouragement of the colonies, and prevention of their growth and increaſe.

"That

"That a power in governors to march the inhabitants from one end of the British and French colonies to the other, being a country of at least 1500 miles square, without the approbation or consent of their representatives first obtained to such expeditions, might be grievous and ruinous to the people, and would put them on a footing with the subjects of France in Canada, that now groan under such oppression from their governor, who for two years past has harassed them with long and destructive marches to the Ohio.

"That if the colonies in a body may be well governed by governors and councils appointed by the crown, without representatives, particular colonies may as well or better be so governed; a tax may be laid on them all by act of parliament for support of government, and their assemblies may be dismissed as an useless part of the constitution.

"That the powers proposed by the Albany plan of union, to be vested in a Grand Council representative of the people, even with

with regard to military matters, are not ſo great as thoſe the colonies of Rhode-Iſland and Connecticut are entruſted with by their charters, and have never abuſed; for by this plan, the preſident general is appointed by the crown, and controls all by his negative; but in thoſe governments the people chooſe the governor, and yet allow him no negative.

"That the Britiſh colonies bordering on the French are properly frontiers of the Britiſh empire; and the frontiers of an empire are properly defended at the joint expence of the body of the people in ſuch empire: it would now be thought hard by act of parliament to oblige the Cinque Ports or ſea coaſts of Britain to maintain the whole navy, becauſe they are more immediately defended by it, not allowing them at the ſame time a vote in chooſing members of the parliament; and if the frontiers in America muſt bear the expence of their own defence, it ſeems hard to allow them no ſhare in voting the money, judging of the neceſſity and ſum, or adviſing the meaſures.

"That

"That besides the taxes necessary for the defence of the frontiers, the colonies pay yearly great sums to the mother country unnoticed: for taxes paid in Britain by the landholder or artificer, must enter into and increase the price of the produce of land and of manufactures made of it; and great part of this is paid by consumers in the colonies, who thereby pay a considerable part of the British taxes.

"We are restrained in our trade with foreign nations; and where we could be supplied with any manufacture cheaper from them, but must buy the same dearer from Britain, the difference of price is a clear tax to Britain. We are obliged to carry great part of our produce directly to Britain, and where the duties there laid upon it lessen its price to the planter, or it sells for less than it would in foreign markets, the difference is a tax paid to Britain.

"Some manufactures we could make, but are forbidden, and must take them of British merchants; the whole price of these is a tax paid to Britain.

"By

" By our greatly increaſing the demand and conſumption of Britiſh manufactures, their price is conſiderably raiſed of late years ; the advance is clear profit to Britain, and enables its people better to pay great taxes ; and much of it being paid by us, is clear tax to Britain.

" In ſhort, as we are not ſuffered to regulate our trade, and reſtrain the importation and conſumption of Britiſh ſuperfluities, (as Britain can the conſumption of foreign ſuperfluities,) our whole wealth centres finally among the merchants and inhabitants of Britain; and if we make them richer, and enable them better to pay their taxes, it is nearly the ſame as being taxed ourſelves, and equally beneficial to the crown.

" Theſe kind of ſecondary taxes, however, we do not complain of, though we have no ſhare in the laying or diſpoſing of them; but to pay immediate heavy taxes, in the laying, appropriation, and diſpoſition of which we have no part, and which, perhaps, we may know to be as unneceſſary as grievous, muſt ſeem hard meaſure to Engliſhmen, who cannot conceive, that by hazarding their lives and

and fortunes in ſubduing and ſettling new countries, extending the dominion and increaſing the commerce of their mother nation, they have forfeited the native rights of Britons, which they think ought rather to be given them as due to ſuch merit, if they had been before in a ſtate of ſlavery.

"These, and ſuch kind of things as theſe, I apprehend, will be thought and ſaid by the people, if the propoſed alteration of the Albany plan ſhould take place. Then the adminiſtration of the Board of Governors and Council ſo appointed, not having any repreſentative body of the people to approve and unite in its meaſures, and conciliate the minds of the people to them, will probably become ſuſpected and odious; dangerous animoſities and feuds will ariſe between the governors and governed, and every thing go into confuſion.

"Perhaps I am too apprehenſive in this matter; but having freely given my opinion and reaſons, your Excellency can judge better than I whether there be any weight in them, and

and the ſhortneſs of the time allowed me will, I hope, in ſome degree, excuſe the imperfections of this ſcrawl.

"With the greateſt reſpect and fidelity, I have the honour to be,

"Your Excellency's

"Moſt obedient, and moſt humble ſervant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"SIR, Boſton, Dec. 22, 1754.

"Since the converſation your Excellency was pleaſed to honour me with, on the ſubject of uniting the colonies more intimately with Great Britain, by allowing them repreſentatives in parliament, I have ſomething further conſidered that matter, and am of opinion, that ſuch an union would be very acceptable to the colonies, provided they had a reaſonable number of repreſentatives allowed them; and that all the old acts of parliament reſtraining the trade or cramping the manufactures of the colonies, be at the ſame time repealed, and the Britiſh ſubjects on this ſide the water put, in thoſe reſpects, on the ſame footing with thoſe in Great Britain, till the new parliament, repreſenting the whole, ſhall

 think

think it for the intereſt of the whole to re-enact ſome or all of them: it is not that I imagine ſo many repreſentatives will be allowed the colonies, as to have any great weight by their numbers; but I think there might be ſufficient to occaſion thoſe laws to be better and more impartially conſidered, and perhaps to overcome the private intereſt of a petty corporation, or of any particular ſet of artificers or traders in England, who heretofore ſeem, in ſome inſtances, to have been more regarded than all the colonies, or than was conſiſtent with the general intereſt or beſt national good. I think too, that the government of the colonies by a parliament, in which they are fairly repreſented, would be vaſtly more agreeable to the people, than the method lately attempted to be introduced by royal inſtructions, as well as more agreeable to the nature of an Engliſh conſtitution, and to Engliſh liberty; and that ſuch laws as now ſeem to bear hard on the colonies, would (when judged by ſuch a parliament for the beſt intereſt of the whole) be more cheerfully ſubmitted to, and more eaſily executed.

"I ſhould hope too, that by ſuch an union, the people of Great Britain, and the people of the colonies, would learn to conſider themſelves, not as belonging to different communities with different intereſts, but to one community with one intereſt, which I imagine would contribute to ſtrengthen the whole, and greatly leſſen the danger of future ſeparations.

"It is, I ſuppoſe, agreed to be the general intereſt of any ſtate, that its people be numerous and rich; men enough to fight in its defence, and enough to pay ſufficient taxes to defray the charge; for theſe circumſtances tend to the ſecurity of the ſtate, and its protection from foreign power: but it ſeems not of ſo much importance whether the fighting be done by John or Thomas, or the tax paid by William or Charles. The iron manufacture employs and enriches Britiſh ſubjects; but is it of any importance to the ſtate, whether the manufacturers live at Birmingham or Sheffield, or both, ſince they are ſtill within its bounds, and their wealth and perſons at its command? Could the Goodwin

Sands be laid dry by banks, and land equal to a large country thereby gained to England, and presently filled with English inhabitants, would it be right to deprive such inhabitants of the common privileges enjoyed by other Englishmen, the right of vending their produce in the same ports, and of making their own shoes, because a merchant, or a shoemaker, living on the old land, might fancy it more for his advantage to trade or make shoes for them? Would this be right, even if the land were gained at the expence of the state? And would it not seem less right, if the charge and labour of gaining the additional territory to Britain had been borne by the settlers themselves? And would not the hardship appear yet greater, if the people of the new country should be allowed no representatives in the parliament enacting such impositions? Now I look on the colonies as so many counties gained to Great Britain, and more advantageous to it than if they had been gained out of the sea around its coasts, and joined to its land: for being in different climates, they afford greater variety of pro-

duce, and materials for more manufactures; and being separated by the ocean, they increase much more its shipping and seamen; and since they are all included in the British empire, which has only extended itself by their means; and the strength and wealth of the parts is the strength and wealth of the whole; what imports it to the general state, whether a merchant, a smith, or a hatter, grow rich in *Old* or *New* England? And if, through increase of people, two smiths are wanted for one employed before, why may not the *new* smith be allowed to live and thrive in the *new country*, as well as the *old* one in the *old?* In fine, why should the countenance of a state be *partially* afforded to its people, unless it be most in favour of those who have most merit? And if there be any difference, those who have most contributed to enlarge Britain's empire and commerce, increase her strength, her wealth, and the numbers of her people, at the risk of their own lives and private fortunes, in new and strange countries, methinks ought rather to expect some preference.

"With

"With the greateſt reſpect and eſteem, I have the honour to be

"Your Excellency's

"Moſt obedient, and moſt humble ſervant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

The north-weſtern frontier being ſoon afterwards invaded by the enemy, it became neceſſary to take meaſures for the protection of the inhabitants. Dr. Franklin was ordered by the governor to take charge of this affair. Authority to raiſe men, and to appoint officers, was given to him. He immediately levied a body of troops, and marched to the part where their preſence was neceſſary to check the enemy. He remained there ſome time, and did not leave his little army until required to attend the aſſembly of the province upon ſome important buſineſs.

The internal diſputes between the proprietaries and the aſſembly ſtill continuing, it was at length reſolved, to preſent a petition to the King in council, upon the ſubject; and Dr. Franklin was appointed agent of the province, and to preſent it.

He departed from America in the month of June 1757. He preſented the petition with which he was charged, and the matter was heard before the Privy Council. After an ample diſcuſſion, it was propoſed to Dr. Franklin to engage, for the aſſembly, that the aſſeſſment of taxes ſhould be ſo made, as that the proprietary eſtates ſhould pay no more than a due proportion. To this he agreed, and tranquillity was at that time reſtored to the province.

During his reſidence in London, he was admitted a member of the Royal Society. And the Univerſities of Oxford, Edinburgh, and St. Andrews, conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws.

In the year 1760, upon the proſpect of peace between Great Britain and France, the late Lord Bath wrote a tract, which he called "A Letter to two great Men." Theſe were Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Newcaſtle. The ſubject of the letter was, the conditions of peace, which the writer thought ſhould be inſiſted upon. He thought the poſſeſſion of

of Canada preferable to the acquiſitions in the Weſt Indies.

In anſwer to this pamphlet, there was another, called "Remarks upon it," written by Meſſieurs Burkes; in which the preference is given to Guadaloupe. (Martinico was not at that time taken.)

Dr. Franklin being of Lord Bath's opinion, wrote a reply to the "Remarks," which he intitled "The true Intereſt of Great Britain conſidered, with regard to her Colonies, and the Acquiſitions of Canada and Guadaloupe;" in which he ſupported the arguments of Lord Bath.

In the year 1762, Dr. Franklin returned to America. He received the thanks of the Aſſembly of Pennſylvania, "as well for the faithful diſcharge of his duty to that province in particular, as for the many and important ſervices done to America in general, during his reſidence in Great Britain." A compenſation of five thouſand pounds were voted to him for his ſervices during the ſix years.

In the year 1764 he was again appointed agent to Great Britain.

The meaſure, and the conſequences of the American ſtamp act, and the examination of Dr. Franklin before the Houſe of Commons, are all of them well known.

After the diſputes on that ſubject were ſettled, he viſited ſeveral parts of Holland, Germany, and France.

In the year 1770, Dr. Franklin, together with the Hon. Thomas Walpole, banker in London, John Sargent, and Samuel Wharton, Eſqrs. preſented a petition to the King and Council, for a grant of lands on the river Ohio in North America. The idea was to erect a new province in America. The deſign had been mentioned to Lord Halifax ſome years before, when his Lordſhip was at the head of the Board of Trade; and Lord Halifax approved of it very highly. The petitioners made many perſons of property and conſideration acquainted with their deſign; ſeveral of whom engaged to become proprietors, if the grant was obtained.

After the petition had lain ſome time before the Privy Council, it was, in the uſual way, referred to the Board of Trade, to conſider, and report upon it.

The following is a copy of the Report, which the Board of Trade made to the Lords of the Privy Council.

" Report of the Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations; on the Petition of the Honourable Thomas Walpole and his Aſſociates, for a Grant of Lands on the River Ohio in North America.

" My Lords,

" Purſuant to your Lordſhips' order of the 25th May 1770, we have taken into our conſideration the humble memorial of the Hon. Thomas Walpole, Benjamin Franklin, John Sargent, and Samuel Wharton, Eſqrs. in behalf of themſelves and their aſſociates, ſetting forth, (among other things,) ' That ' they preſented a petition to his Majeſty in ' council, for a grant of lands in America ' (*parcel* of the lands purchaſed by govern-
' ment

'ment of the Indians) in consideration of a
'price to be paid in purchase of the same;
'*that in pursuance of a suggestion which arose*
'*when the said petition was under consideration*
'*of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and*
'*Plantations*, the memorialists presented a
'petition to the Lords Commissioners of
'the Treasury, proposing to purchase a
'larger tract of land on the river Ohio in
'America, sufficient for a separate govern-
'ment; whereupon their Lordships were
'pleased to acquaint the memorialists, they
'had no objection to accepting the proposals
'made by them with respect to the pur-
'chase-money and quit-rent to be paid for
'the said tract of land, if it should be
'thought advisable by those departments
'of government, to whom it belonged to
'judge of the propriety of the grant, both in
'point of policy and justice, that the grant
'should be made; in consequence whereof,
'the memorialists humbly renew their ap-
'plication, that a grant of said lands may
'be made to them, *reserving therein to all*
'*persons their just and legal rights to any*
'*parts or parcels of said lands which may be*

'*comprehended*

'*comprehended within the tract prayed for*
'*by the memorialiſts*;' whereupon we beg leave to *report* to your Lordſhips,

"I. That according to the deſcription of the tract of land prayed for by the memorialiſts, which deſcription is annexed to their memorial, it appears to us to contain part of the dominion of Virginia, to the ſouth of the river Ohio, and to extend ſeveral degrees of longitude weſtward from the weſtern ridge of the Appalachian mountains, as will more fully appear to your Lordſhips from the annexed ſketch of the ſaid tract, which we have ſince cauſed to be delineated with as much exactneſs as poſſible, and herewith ſubmit to your Lordſhips, to the end that your Lordſhips may judge with the greater preciſion of the ſituation of the lands prayed for in the memorial.

"II. From this ſketch your Lordſhips will obſerve, that a very conſiderable part of the lands prayed for lies beyond the line, which has, in conſequence of his Majeſty's orders for that purpoſe, been ſettled by treaty, as

as well with the tribes of the Six Nations, and their confederates, as with the Cherokee Indians, as the boundary line between his Majeſty's territories and their hunting-grounds: and as the faith of the crown is pledged in the moſt ſolemn manner both to the Six Nations and to the Cherokees, that notwithſtanding the former of theſe nations had ceded the property in the lands to his Majeſty, yet no ſettlements ſhall be made beyond that line, it is our duty to report to your Lordſhips our opinion, that it would on that account be highly improper to comply with the requeſt of the memorial, *ſo far as it includes any lands beyond the ſaid line.*

"It remains, therefore, that we report to your Lordſhips our opinion, how far it may conſiſt with good policy and with juſtice, that his Majeſty ſhould comply with that part of the memorial which relates to thoſe lands which are ſituated to the eaſt of that line, and are part of the dominion of Virginia.

"III. And firſt with regard to the policy, we take leave to remind your Lordſhips of

that

that principle which was adopted by this Board, and approved and confirmed by his Majeſty, immediately after the treaty of Paris, *viz.* the confining the weſtern extent of ſettlements to ſuch a diſtance from the ſea coaſt, as that thoſe ſettlements ſhould lie *within the reach of the trade and commerce of this kingdom*, upon which the ſtrength and riches of it depend; and alſo of the exerciſe of that authority and juriſdiction, which was conceived to be neceſſary for the preſervation of the colonies, in a due ſubordination to, and dependence upon, the mother country; and theſe we apprehend to have been two capital objects of his Majeſty's proclamation of the 7th of October 1763, by which his Majeſty declares it to be his royal will and pleaſure to reſerve under his ſovereignty, protection, and dominion, for the *uſe* of the Indians, all the lands not included within the three new governments, the limits of which are deſcribed therein, as alſo all the lands and territories lying to the weſtward of the ſources of the rivers which ſhall fall into the ſea from the weſt and north-weſt, and by which all perſons are forbid to make any purchaſes or ſet-

tlements

tlements whatever, or to take poſſeſſion of any of the lands above reſerved, without ſpecial licence for that purpoſe.

"IV. It is true indeed, that partly from *want of preciſion* in deſcribing the line intended to be marked out by the proclamation of 1763, and partly from a conſideration of juſtice *in regard to legal titles to lands*, which had been ſettled beyond that line, it has been ſince thought fit to enter into engagements with the Indians, for fixing a more preciſe and determinate *boundary* between his Majeſty's territories and their hunting-grounds.

"V. By this *boundary*, ſo far as it regards the caſe now in queſtion, your Lordſhips will obſerve, that the hunting-grounds of the Indians are reduced within narrower limits than were ſpecified by the proclamation of 1763; we beg leave however, to ſubmit to your Lordſhips, that the ſame principles of policy, in reference to ſettlements *at ſo great a diſtance* from the ſea-coaſt *as to be out of the reach of all advantageous intercourſe with this kingdom*, continue to exiſt in their full force and

and ſpirit; and, though various propoſitions for erecting new colonies in the interior parts of America have been, in conſequence of this extenſion of the boundary line, ſubmitted to the conſideration of government, (particularly in that part of the country wherein are ſituated the lands now prayed for, with a view to that object,) yet the dangers and diſadvantages of complying with ſuch propoſals have been ſo obvious, as to defeat every attempt made for carrying them into execution.

" VI. Many objections, beſides thoſe which we have already ſtated, occur to us to propoſitions of this kind; but as *every argument* on this ſubject is *collected together with great force and preciſion*, in a repreſentation made to his Majeſty by the Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations in March 1768, we beg leave to ſtate them to your Lordſhips in their words.

" In that repreſentation they deliver their opinion upon a propoſition for ſettling new colonies in the interior country as follows, *viz.*

' The

'The propoſition of forming inland colo-
'nies in America is, we humbly conceive,
'entirely new: it adopts principles in reſpect
'to American ſettlements, different from
'what have hitherto been the policy of this
'kingdom, and leads to a ſyſtem which, if
'purſued through all its conſequences, is, in
'the preſent ſtate of that country, of the
'greateſt importance.

'The great object of colonizing upon the
'continent of North America, has been to
'improve and extend the commerce, naviga-
'tion, and manufactures of this kingdom,
'upon which its ſtrength and ſecurity de-
'pend.

'1. By promoting the advantageous fiſhery
'carried on upon the northern coaſt.

'2. By encouraging the growth and cul-
'ture of naval ſtores, and of raw materials,
'to be tranſported hither in exchange for
'perfect manufactures and other merchan-
'diſe.

'3. By

‘ 3. By ſecuring a ſupply of lumber, pro-
‘ viſions, and other neceſſaries, for the ſup-
‘ port of our eſtabliſhments in the American
‘ iſlands.

‘ In order to anſwer theſe ſalutary purpoſes, ‘ it has been the policy of this kingdom to ‘ confine her ſettlements as much as poſſible ‘ to the ſea-coaſt, and not to extend them to ‘ places inacceſſible to ſhipping, and conſe- ‘ quently more out of the reach of commerce; ‘ a plan which, at the ſame time that it ſe- ‘ cured the attainment of theſe commercial ‘ objects, had the further political advantage ‘ of guarding againſt all interfering of foreign ‘ powers, and of enabling this kingdom to ‘ keep up a ſuperior naval force in thoſe ſeas, ‘ by the actual poſſeſſion of ſuch rivers and ‘ harbours as were proper ſtations for fleets ‘ in time of war.

‘ Such, may it pleaſe your Majeſty, have ‘ been the conſiderations inducing that plan ‘ of policy hitherto purſued in the ſettlement ‘ of your Majeſty's American colonies, with ‘ which the private intereſt and ſagacity of

'the ſettlers co-operated from the firſt eſtab-
'liſhments formed upon that continent. It
'was upon theſe principles, and with theſe
'views, that government undertook the
'ſettling of Nova Scotia in 1749; and it
'was from a view of the advantages repre-
'ſented to ariſe from it in theſe different
'articles, that it was ſo liberally ſupported
'by the aid of parliament.

'The ſame motives, though operating in
'a leſs degree, and applying to fewer objects,
'did, as we humbly conceive, induce the
'forming the colonies of Georgia, Eaſt
'Florida, and Weſt Florida, to the South,
'and the making thoſe provincial arrange-
'ments in the proclamation of 1763, by
'which the interior country was left to the
'poſſeſſion of the Indians.

'Having thus briefly ſtated what has been
'the policy of this kingdom in reſpect to co-
'lonizing in America, it may be neceſſary to
'take a curſory view of what has been the
'effect of it in thoſe colonies, where there
'has been ſufficient time for that effect to

'discover itself; because, if it shall appear 'from the present state of these settlements, 'and the progress they have made, that they 'are likely to produce the advantages above 'stated, it will, we humbly apprehend, be a 'very strong argument against forming settle-'ments in the interior country; more espe-'cially, when every advantage, derived from 'an established government, would naturally 'tend to draw the stream of population; 'fertility of soil and temperature of climate 'offering superior incitements to settlers, 'who, exposed to few hardships, and strug-'gling with few difficulties, could, with little 'labour, earn an abundance for their own 'wants, but without a possibility of supplying 'ours with any considerable quantities. Nor 'would these inducements be confined in 'their operation to foreign emigrants, deter-'mining their choice where to settle, but 'would act most powerfully upon the inhabit-'ants of the northern and southern latitudes 'of your Majesty's American dominions; 'who, ever suffering under the opposite ex-'tremes of heat and cold, would be equally 'tempted by a moderate climate to abandon

'latitudes peculiarly adapted to the production of thoſe things, which are by Nature denied to us; and for the whole of which we ſhould, without their aſſiſtance, ſtand indebted to, and dependent upon other countries.

'It is well known that antecedent to the year 1749, all that part of the ſea-coaſt of the Britiſh empire in America, which extends north-eaſt from the province of Main to Canceau in Nova Scotia, and from thence to the mouth of St. Laurence river, lay waſte and neglected; though naturally affording, or capable by art of producing, every ſpecies of naval ſtores; the ſeas abounding with whale, cod, and other valuable fiſh, and having many great rivers, bays, and harbours, fit for the reception of ſhips of war. Thus circumſtanced, a conſideration of the great commercial advantages which would follow from ſecuring the poſſeſſion of this country, combined with the evidence of the value ſet upon it by our enemies, who, during the war which terminated at that period, had, at an immenſe

'expence,

'expence, attempted to wreſt it from us, in-
'duced that plan, for the ſettlement of Nova
'Scotia, to which we have before referred;
'and which, being proſecuted with vigour,
'though at a very large expence to this king-
'dom, ſecured the poſſeſſion of that pro-
'vince, and formed thoſe eſtabliſhments
'which contributed ſo greatly to facilitate
'and promote the ſucceſs of your Majeſty's
'arms in the late war.

'The eſtabliſhment of government in this
'part of America, having opened to the view
'and information of your Majeſty's ſubjects
'in other colonies the great commercial ad-
'vantages to be derived from it, induced a
'zeal for migration; and aſſociations were
'formed for taking up lands, and making
'ſettlements, in this province, by principal
'perſons reſiding in theſe colonies.

'In conſequence of theſe aſſociations, up-
'wards of ten thouſand ſouls have paſſed
'from thoſe colonies into Nova Scotia; who
'have either engaged in the fiſheries, or be-
'come exporters of lumber and proviſions to
'the

'the Weſt Indies. And further ſettlements, 'to the extent of twenty-one townſhips, of 'one hundred thouſand acres each, have 'been engaged to be made there, by many of 'the principal perſons in Pennſylvania, whoſe 'names and aſſociation for that purpoſe now 'lie before your Majeſty in council.

'The government of Maſſachuſſets Bay, 'as well as the proprietors of large tracts to 'the eaſtward of the province of Main, ex-'cited by the ſucceſs of theſe ſettlements, are 'giving every encouragement to the like 'ſettlements in that valuable country, lying 'between them and Nova Scotia; and the 'proprietors of the twelve townſhips lately 'laid out there, by the Maſſachuſſets govern-'ment, now ſolicit your Majeſty for a con-'firmation of their title.

'Such, may it pleaſe your Majeſty, is the 'preſent ſtate of the progreſs making in the 'ſettlement of the northern parts of the ſea-'coaſts of North America, in conſequence of 'what appears to have been the policy 'adopted by this kingdom. And many per-

'ſons

'sons of rank and substance here are proceeding to carry into execution the plan 'which your Majesty (pursuing the same 'principles of commercial policy) has approved for the settlement of the islands of 'St. John and Cape Breton, and of the new 'established colonies to the south. And, 'therefore, as we are fully convinced, that 'the encouraging settlements upon the seacoast of North America is founded in the 'true principles of commercial policy; as we 'find upon examination, that the happy effects of that policy are now beginning to 'open themselves, in the establishment of 'these branches of commerce, culture, and 'navigation, upon which the strength, 'wealth, and security of this kingdom depend; we cannot be of opinion that it 'would in any view be advisable to divest 'your Majesty's subjects in America from 'the pursuit of those important objects, by 'adopting measures of a new policy, *at an 'expence to this kingdom, which in its present 'state it is unable to bear.*

 'This,

SWATI MAHAL. * THE TA

'This, may it pleaſe your Majeſty, being 'the light in which we view the propoſition 'of colonizing in the interior country, con'ſidered as a general principle of policy; we 'ſhall, in the next place, proceed to examine 'the ſeveral arguments urged in ſupport of 'the particular eſtabliſhments now recom'mended.

'Theſe arguments appear to us reducible 'to the following general propoſitions, viz.

'Firſt, That ſuch colonies will promote 'population, and increaſe the demands for, 'and conſumption of Britiſh manufactures.

'Secondly, That they will ſecure the fur 'trade, and prevent an illicit trade, or inter'fering of French or Spaniards with the 'Indians.

'Thirdly, That they will be a defence 'and protection to the old colonies againſt 'the Indians.

'Fourthly,

'Fourthly, That they will contribute to
'lessen the present heavy expence of supply-
'ing provisions to the different forts and gar-
'risons.

'Lastly, That they are necessary in respect
'to the inhabitants already residing in those
'places where they are proposed to be esta-
'blished, who require some form of civil go-
'vernment.

'After what we have already stated with
'respect to the policy of encouraging colo-
'nies in the interior country as a general
'principle, we trust it will not be necessary
'to enter into an ample discussion of the ar-
'guments brought to support the foregoing
'propositions.

'We admit as an undeniable principle of
'true policy, that with a view to prevent
'manufactures, it is necessary and proper to
'open an extent of territory for colonization
'proportioned to the increase of people, as a
'large number of inhabitants, cooped up in
'narrow limits, without a sufficiency of land
'for

for produce, would be compelled to convert their attention and induſtry to manufactures: but we ſubmit whether the encouragement given to the ſettlement of the colonies upon the ſea-coaſt, and the effect which ſuch encouragement has had, have not already effectually provided for this object, as well as for increaſing the demand for, and conſumption of Britiſh manufactures, an advantage which, in our humble opinion, would not be promoted by theſe new colonies, which being propoſed to be eſtabliſhed, at the diſtance of *above fifteen hundred miles from the ſea*, and in places which, upon the fulleſt evidence, are found to be utterly inacceſſible to ſhipping, will, from their inability to find returns wherewith to pay for the manufactures of Great Britain, be probably led to manufacture for themſelves; a conſequence which experience ſhews has conſtantly attended in greater or leſſer degree every inland ſettlement; and therefore ought, in our humble opinion, to be carefully guarded againſt, by *encouraging* the ſettlement of that extenſive tract of ſea-coaſt hitherto unoccupied; *which, together with*

'*the liberty that the inhabitants of the middle* '*colonies will have* (in confequence *of the* '*propofed boundary line with the Indians*) of '*gradually extending themfelves backwards*, 'will more effectually and beneficially anfwer 'the object of encouraging population and 'confumption, than the erection of new go-'vernments; fuch gradual extenfion might 'through the medium of a continued popu-'lation, upon even the fame extent of terri-'tory, preferve a communication of mutual 'commercial benefits between its extremeft 'parts and Great Britain, *impoffible* to *exift in* '*colonies feparated by immenfe tracts of unpeo-*'*pled defart.*—As to the effect which it is 'fuppofed the colonies may have to increafe 'and promote the fur trade, and to prevent 'all contraband trade or intercourfe between 'the Indians under your Majefty's protection, 'and the French or Spaniards; it does appear 'to us, that the extenfion of the fur trade 'depends entirely upon the Indians being 'undifturbed in the poffeffion of their hunt-'ing-grounds; that all colonizing does in its 'nature, and muft in its confequences, ope-

'rate

' rate to the prejudice of that branch of ' commerce, and that the French and Spaniard ' would be left in possession of a great part of ' what remained; as New Orleans would still ' continue the best and surest market.

' As to the protection which it is supposed ' these new colonies may be capable of affording to the old ones, it will, in our opinion, appear on the slightest view of their ' situation, that so far from affording protection to the old colonies, they will stand ' most in need of it themselves.

' It cannot be denied, that new colonies ' would be of advantage in raising provisions ' for the supply of such forts and garrisons ' as may be kept up in the neighbourhood of ' them; but as the degree of utility will be ' proportioned to the number and situation of ' these forts and garrisons, which upon the ' result of the present inquiry it may be ' thought advisable to continue, so the force ' of the argument will depend upon that ' event.

' The

‘ The preſent French inhabitants in the
‘ neighbourhood of the Lakes, will, in our
‘ humble opinion, be ſufficient to furniſh
‘ with proviſions whatever poſts may be ne-
‘ ceſſary to be continued there; and as there
‘ are alſo French inhabitants ſettled in ſome
‘ parts of the country lying upon the Miſ-
‘ ſiſſippi, between the rivers Illinois and the
‘ Ohio, it is to be hoped that a ſufficient
‘ number of theſe may be induced to fix
‘ their abode, where the ſame convenience
‘ and advantage may be derived from them;
‘ but if no ſuch circumſtance were to exiſt,
‘ and no ſuch aſſiſtance to be expected
‘ from it, the objections ſtated to the plan
‘ now under our conſideration are ſuperior to
‘ this, or any other advantage it can produce;
‘ and although civil eſtabliſhments have fre-
‘ quently rendered the expence of an armed
‘ force neceſſary for their protection, one
‘ of the many objections to theſe now pro-
‘ poſed, yet we humbly preſume there never
‘ has been an inſtance of a government in-
‘ ſtituted merely with a view to ſupply a
‘ body of troops with ſuitable proviſions;
‘ nor is it neceſſary in theſe inſtances for the
‘ ſettle-

'settlements, already existing, as above de-'scribed, which being formed under mili-'tary establishments, and ever subjected to 'military authority, do not, in our humble 'opinion, require any other superintendence 'than that of the military officers command-'ing at these posts.'

"In addition to this opinion of the Board of Trade, expressed in the foregoing recital, we further beg leave to refer your Lordships to the opinion of the Commander in Chief of his Majesty's forces in North America, who, in a letter laid before us by the Earl of Hillsborough, delivers his sentiments with regard to the settlements in the interior parts of America in the following words, *viz.*

"VII. 'As to increasing the settlements to 'respectable provinces, and to colonization '*in general terms* in the *remote* countries, I 'conceive it altogether inconsistent with 'sound policy; for there is little appearance 'that the advantages will arise from it which 'nations expect when they send out colonies 'into

'into *foreign countries*; they can give no en-
'couragement to the fishery, and though the
'country might afford some kind of naval
'stores, the distance would be too far to
'transport them; and for the same reason
'they could not supply the sugar islands
'with lumber and provisions. As for the
'raising wine, silk, and other commodities,
'the same may be said of the present colonies
'without planting others for the purpose at
'so vast a distance; but on the supposition
'that they would be raised, their very long
'transportation must probably make them
'too dear for any market. I do not appre-
'hend the inhabitants could have any com-
'modities to barter for manufactures except
'skins and furs, which will naturally decrease
'as the country increases in people, and the
'desarts are cultivated; so that in the course
'of a few years necessity would force them
'to provide manufactures of some kind for
'themselves; and when all connection up-
'held by commerce with the mother country
'shall cease, it may be expected, that an in-
'dependency on her government will soon
'follow; the pretence of forming barriers

'will have no end; wherever we ſettle, how-
'ever remote, there muſt be a frontier; and
'there is room enough for the coloniſts to
'ſpread within our preſent limits, for a cen-
'tury to come. If we reflect how the peo-
'ple of themſelves have gradually retired
'from the coaſt, we ſhall be convinced they
'want no encouragement to deſert ſea-coaſts,
'and go into the back countries, where the
'lands are better, and got upon eaſier terms;
'they are already almoſt out of the reach of
'law and government; neither the endea-
'vours of government, or fear of Indians,
'has kept them properly within bounds;
'and it is apparently moſt for the intereſt of
'Great Britain to confine the colonies on
'the ſide of the back country, and to direct
'their ſettlements along the ſea-coaſt, where
'millions of acres are yet uncultivated. The
'lower provinces are ſtill thinly inhabited,
'and not brought to the point of perfection
'that has been aimed at for the mutual be-
'nefit of Great Britain and themſelves. Al-
'though America may ſupply the mother
'country with many articles, few of them
'are yet ſupplied in quantities equal to her
'con-

'consumption; the quantity of iron transported is not great, of hemp very small, and 'there are many other commodities not necessary to enumerate, which America has 'not yet been able to raise, notwithstanding 'the encouragement given her by bounties 'and premiums. The laying open new 'tracts of fertile territory in moderate climates might lessen her present produce; 'for it is the passion of every man to be a 'landholder, and the people have a natural 'disposition to rove in search of good lands, 'however distant. It may be a question 'likewise, whether colonization of the kind 'could be effected *without an Indian war,* '*and fighting for every inch of ground.* The 'Indians have long been jealous of our power, 'and have no patience in seeing us approach 'their towns, and settle upon their hunting-'grounds; atonements may be made for a 'fraud discovered in a trader, and even the 'murder of some of their tribes, but *encroachments* upon their lands have often produced 'serious consequences. The springs of the 'last general war are to be discovered near 'the Allegany mountains, and upon the 'banks of the Ohio.

'It

'It is so obvious, that settlers might raise 'provisions to feed the troops cheaper than it 'can be transported from the country below, 'that it is not necessary to explain it; but 'I must own I know no other use in settle-'ments, or can give any other reason for 'supporting forts, than to protect the set-'tlements, and keep the settlers in subjection 'to government.

'I conceive, that to procure all the com-'merce it will afford, and as little expence 'to ourselves as we can, is the only object 'we shall have in view in the interior coun-'try for a century to come; and I imagine 'it might be effected, by proper manage-'ment, without either forts or settlements. 'Our manufactures are as much desired by 'the Indians, as their peltry is sought for by 'us; what was originally deemed a super-'fluity, or a luxury by the natives, is now 'become a necessary; they are disused to 'the bow, and can neither hunt, or make 'war without fire-arms, powder, and lead. 'The British provinces can only supply 'them with their necessaries, which they 'know, and for their own sakes would pro-

'tect the trader, which they actually do at 'present. It would remain with us to pre- 'vent the trader's being guilty of frauds and 'impositions, and to pursue the same me- 'thods to that end, as are taken in the 'southern district; and I must confess, 'though the plan pursued in that district 'might be improved by proper laws to sup- 'port it, that I do not know a better or more 'œconomical plan for the management of 'trade; there are neither forts nor settle- 'ments in the southern department, and 'there are both in the northern department; 'and your Lordships will be the best judge, 'which of them has given you the least 'trouble; in which we have had the fewest 'quarrels with, or complaints from the In- 'dians.

'I know of nothing so liable to bring on 'a serious quarrel with Indians *as an invasion* '*of their property*. Let the savages enjoy 'their desarts in quiet; little bickerings that 'may unavoidably sometimes happen, may 'soon be accommodated; and I am of opi- 'nion, independent of the motives of com- 'mon justice and humanity, that the prin-

 'ciples

'ciples of intereſt and policy ſhould induce 'us rather to protect than moleſt them: 'were they driven from their foreſts, the 'peltry trade would decreaſe; and it is *not* '*impoſſible* that worſe ſavages would take 'refuge in them, for they might then become 'the aſylum of fugitive negroes, and idle 'vagabonds, eſcaped from juſtice, who in 'time might become formidable, and ſubſiſt 'by rapine, and plundering the lower coun- 'tries.'

"VIII. The opinions delivered in the foregoing recitals are ſo accurate and preciſe, as to make it almoſt unneceſſary to add any thing more: but we beg leave to lay before your Lordſhips the ſentiments of his Majeſty's Governor of Georgia, upon the ſubject of large grants in the interior parts of America, whoſe knowledge and experience in the affairs of the colonies give great weight to his opinion.

"In a letter, to us, on the ſubject of the miſchiefs attending ſuch grants, he expreſſes himſelf in the following manner, viz.

'And

'And now, my Lords, I beg your patience 'a moment, while I confider this matter in 'a more extenfive point of view, and go a 'little further in declaring my fentiments 'and opinion, with refpect to the granting 'of large bodies of land, in the back parts 'of the province of Georgia, or in any other 'of his Majefty's northern colonies, at a dif-'tance from the fea-coaft, or from fuch parts 'of any province as are already fettled and 'inhabited.

'And this matter, my Lords, appears to 'me, in a very ferious and alarming light; 'and I humbly conceive may be attended 'with the greateft and worft of confequences; 'for, my Lords, if a vaft territory be granted 'to any fet of gentlemen, who really mean 'to people it, and actually do fo, it muft 'draw and carry out a great number of peo-'ple from Great Britain; and I apprehend 'they will foon become a kind of feparate and 'independent people, and who will fet up 'for themfelves; that they will foon have 'manufactures of their own; that they will 'neither take fupplies from the mother coun-

'try, or from the provinces, at the back of 'which they are settled; that being at a dis-'tance from the seat of government, courts, 'magistrates, &c. &c. they will be out of 'the reach and control of law and govern-'ment; that it will become a receptacle 'and kind of asylum for offenders, who will 'fly from justice to such new country or 'colony; and therefore crimes and offences 'will be committed, not only by the inhabit-'ants of such new settlements, but elsewhere, 'and pass with impunity; and that in pro-'cess of time (and perhaps at no great dis-'tance) they will become formidable enough 'to oppose his Majesty's authority, disturb 'government, and even give law to the 'other or first settled part of the country, 'and throw every thing into confusion.

'My Lords, I hope I shall not be thought 'impertinent, when I give my opinion freely, 'in a matter of so great consequence, as I 'conceive this to be; and, my Lords, I ap-'prehend, that in all the American colonies, 'great care should be taken, that the lands on 'the sea-coast should be thick settled with

'inhabit-

inhabitants, and well cultivated and improved; and that the ſettlements ſhould be 'gradually extended back into the province, 'and as much connected as poſſible, to keep 'the people together in as narrow a compaſs '*as the nature of the lands and ſtate of things* '*will admit of*; and by which means there 'would probably become only one general 'view and intereſt amongſt them, and the 'power of government and law would of 'courſe naturally and eaſily go with them, 'and matters thereby properly regulated, and 'kept in due order and obedience; and they 'would have no idea of reſiſting or tranſ'greſſing either without being amenable to 'juſtice, and ſubject to puniſhment for any 'offences they may commit.

'But, my Lords, to ſuffer a kind of *pro'vince within a province*, and one that may, 'indeed muſt in proceſs of time become ſu'perior, and too big for the head or original 'ſettlement or ſeat of government, to me con'veys with it many ideas of conſequence, of 'ſuch a nature, as I apprehend are extremely 'dangerous and improper, and it would be 'the

'the policy of government to avoid and pre-
'vent, whilſt in their power to do ſo.

'My ideas, my Lords, are not chimerical; 'I know ſomething of the ſituation and ſtate 'of things in America; and from ſome little 'occurrences or inſtances that have already 'really happened, I can very eaſily figure to 'myſelf what may, and, in ſhort, what 'will certainly happen, if not prevented in 'time.'

"IX. At the ſame time that we ſubmit the foregoing reaſoning againſt colonization in the interior country to your Lordſhips' conſideration, it is proper we ſhould take notice of one argument, which has been invariably held forth in ſupport of every propoſition of this nature, and upon which the preſent proponents appear to lay great ſtreſs. It is urged, that ſuch is the ſtate of the country now propoſed to be granted, and erected into a ſeparate government, that no endeavours on the part of the crown can avail, to prevent its being ſettled by thoſe who, by the increaſe of population in the middle colonies, are continually

nually emigrating to the weſtward, and forming themſelves into colonies in that country, without the intervention or control of government, and who, if ſuffered to continue in that lawleſs ſtate of anarchy and confuſion, will commit ſuch abuſes as cannot fail of involving us in quarrel and diſpute with the Indians, and thereby endangering the ſecurity of his Majeſty's colonies.

" We admit, that this is an argument that deſerves attention; and we rather take notice of it in this place, becauſe ſome of the objections ſtated by Governor Wright *loſe their force, upon the ſuppoſition that the grants againſt which he argues are to be erected into ſeparate governments.* But we are clearly of opinion, that his arguments do, in the general view of them, as applied to the queſtion of granting lands in the interior parts of America, ſtand unanſwerable; and *admitting* that the ſettlers in the country in queſtion are *as numerous as report ſtates them to be*, yet we ſubmit to your Lordſhips, that this is a fact which does, in the nature of it, operate ſtrongly in point of argument *againſt* what

what is propoſed; for if the foregoing reaſoning has any weight, it certainly ought to induce your Lordſhips to adviſe his Majeſty to take every method to *check* the progreſs of theſe ſettlements, and *not* to make ſuch grants of the land as will have an immediate tendency to encourage them; a meaſure which we conceive is altogether as unneceſſary as it is impolitic, as we ſee nothing to hinder the government of Virginia from extending the laws and conſtitution of that colony to ſuch perſons as may have already ſettled there *under legal titles*.

"X. And there is one objection ſuggeſted by Governor Wright to the extenſion of ſettlements in the interior country, which, we ſubmit, deſerves your Lordſhips' particular attention, viz. the encouragement that is thereby held out to the emigration of his Majeſty's European ſubjects; an argument which, in the preſent peculiar ſituation of this kingdom, demands very ſerious conſideration, and has for ſome time paſt had ſo great weight with this Board, that it has induced us to deny our concurrence to many

propoſals

proposals for grants of land, even in those parts of the continent of America where, in all other respects, we are of opinion that it consists with the true policy of this kingdom to encourage settlements; and this consideration of the certain bad consequences which must result from a continuance of such emigrations, as have lately taken place from various parts of his Majesty's European dominions, added to the constant drains to Africa, to the East Indies, and to the new ceded islands, will, we trust, with what has been before stated, be a sufficient answer to every argument that can be urged in support of the present memorial, so far as regards the consideration of it in point of policy.

"XI. With regard to the propriety in point of *justice* of making the grant desired, we presume this consideration can have reference only to the case of such persons who have already possession of lands in that part of the country under legal titles derived from grants made by the Governor and Council of Virginia; upon which case we have only to observe, that it does appear to us, that there

are

are *some* ſuch poſſeſſions held by perſons who are not parties to the preſent memorial; and therefore, if your Lordſhips ſhall be of opinion, that the making the grant deſired would, notwithſtanding the reſervation propoſed in reſpect to ſuch titles, have the effect to diſturb thoſe poſſeſſions, or to expoſe the proprietors to ſuit and litigation, we do conceive, that, in that caſe, the grant would be objectionable in point of juſtice.

"XII. Upon the whole, therefore, we cannot recommend to your Lordſhips to adviſe his Majeſty to comply with the prayer of this memorial, either as to the erection of any parts of the lands into a ſeparate government, or the making a grant of them to the memorialiſts; but, on the contrary, we are of opinion, that ſettlements in that diſtant part of the country ſhould be as much diſcouraged as poſſible; and that, in order thereto, it will be expedient, not only that the orders which have been given to the Governor of Virginia, not to make any further grants beyond the line preſcribed by the proclamation of 1763, ſhould be continued and enforced, but that another

another proclamation ſhould be iſſued, declaratory of his Majeſty's reſolution not to allow, for the *preſent*, any new ſettlements beyond that line, and to forbid all perſons from taking up or ſettling any lands in that part of the country.

"We are, my Lords,

"Your Lordſhips' moſt obedient

"and moſt humble ſervants.

"Whitehall, April 15, 1772."

To the preceding Report of the Board of Trade, Dr. Franklin wrote an elaborate anſwer, in the compoſition of which, he took great pains and beſtowed much time and attention. If there were no other reaſons, theſe would be ſufficient to recommend it to the reader's notice. But there are others of a more weighty and important nature. The arguments and facts contained in it were found to be ſo ſtrong, and the deductions from them ſo forcible, that when the petition and the report were taken into conſideration in the Privy Council, which was on the firſt day of July 1772, their Lordſhips decided in favour of the petition. It was not often that the

Privy

Privy Council decided against reports from the Board of Trade.

Lord Hillſborough, who was at this time at the head of the Board of Trade, and conſequently had a principal ſhare in drawing up the report, was ſo much offended by the deciſion of the Privy Council, that he reſigned upon it. He reſigned for that reaſon only. He had conceived an idea, and was forming the plan of a boundary line to be drawn from the Hudſon's river to the Miſſiſſippi, and thereby confining the Britiſh colonies between that line and the ocean, ſimilar to the ſcheme of the French after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which brought on the war of 1756. His favourite project being thus defeated, he quitted the miniſtry.

Dr. Franklin's anſwer to the Report of the Board of Trade was intended to have been publiſhed, but Lord Hillſborough reſigning, Dr. Franklin ſtopped the ſale on the morning of the publication, when not above *five* copies had been diſpoſed of: from one of which the following copy is taken.

To

To the above reasons it will not be improper to add, that it may be considered a valuable historical document of the origin of a new province that already bids fair to become one of the largest and most opulent on that great continent.

Observations on, and Answers to, the foregoing Report.

"I. The first paragraph of the Report, we apprehend, was intended to establish two propositions as facts; *viz.*

"First, That the tract of land agreed for with the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, contains *part* of the dominion of Virginia.

"Second, That it extends several degrees of longitude *westward* from the western ridge of the *Allegany* mountains.

"On the first proposition we shall only remark, that no part of the above tract is to the *eastward* of the Allegany mountains;— and that these mountains must be considered

as

as the true weſtern boundary of *Virginia*;—for the King was *not* ſeiſed and poſſeſſed of a right *to the country weſtward* of the mountains, until his Majeſty purchaſed it, in the year 1768, from the Six Nations: and ſince that time, there has not been any annexation of ſuch purchaſe, or of any part thereof, to the colony of Virginia.

"On the ſecond propoſition,——we ſhall juſt obſerve, that the Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations appear to us to be as erroneous in this as in the former propoſition; for their Lordſhips ſay, that the tract of land under conſideration *extends ſeveral degrees* of longitude *weſtward.* The truth is, that it is not more, on a medium, than one degree and a half of longitude from the weſtern ridge of the Allegany mountains to the river Ohio.

"II. It appears by the ſecond paragraph, as if the Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations apprehended,——that the lands ſouth-weſterly of the *boundary line*, marked on a map annexed to their Lordſhips' *Report*,—

were

were either claimed by the Cherokees, or were their hunting-grounds, or were the hunting-grounds of the Six Nations and their confederates.

"As to any claim of the Cherokees to the above country, it is altogether new and indefensible; and never was heard of until the appointment of Mr. Stewart to the superintendency of the southern colonies, about the year 1764; and this, we flatter ourselves, will not only be obvious from the following state of facts, but that the right to *all the country* on the southerly side of the river Ohio, quite to the Cherokee river, is *now* undoubtedly vested in the King, by the grant which the Six Nations made to his Majesty at Fort Stanwix, in November 1768. In short, the lands from the *Great Kenhawa* to the *Cherokee river* never were either the dwelling or hunting-grounds of the *Cherokees*;—but formerly belonged to, and were inhabited by the *Shawanesse*, until such time as they were conquered by the Six Nations.

 "Mr.

"Mr. Colden, the present Lieutenant Governor of New York, in his Hiſtory of the Five Nations, obſerves, that about the year 1664, 'the Five Nations being amply ſupplied 'by the Engliſh with fire-arms and ammu'nition, gave a full ſwing to their warlike 'genius. They carried their arms *as far 'ſouth as Carolina*, to the northward of New 'England, and *as far weſt as the river Miſ'ſiſſippi*, over a vaſt country,—which ex'tended 1200 miles in length from north to 'ſouth, and 600 miles in breadth,—where they 'entirely deſtroyed whole nations, of whom 'there are no accounts remaining among the 'Engliſh.'

"In 1701,—the Five Nations put all their hunting-lands under the protection of the Engliſh, as appears by the records, and by the recital and confirmation thereof, in their deed to the King of the 4th September 1726;—and Governor Pownal, who many years ago diligently ſearched into the rights of the natives, and in particular into thoſe of the northern confederacy, ſays, in his book intitled, the *Adminiſtration of the Colonies*, 'The

'The right of the Five Nation confederacy 'to the hunting-*lands of Ohio*, Ticûckſou-'chrondite and Scaniaderiada, by the con-'queſt they made, in ſubduing the *Shaöanaes*, 'Delawares, (as we call them,) Twictwees, 'and Oilinois, may be fairly proved, as 'they ſtood poſſeſſed thereof at the peace 'of Reſwick 1697.' And confirmatory hereof, Mr. Lewis Evans, a gentleman of great American knowledge, in his map of the middle colonies, publiſhed in America in the year 1755, has laid down the country on the *ſouth-eaſterly ſide* of the river Ohio, *as the hunting-lands of the Six Nations*; and in his analyſis to this map, he expreſsly ſays,— 'The *Shawaneſſe*, who were formerly one of 'the moſt conſiderable nations of thoſe parts 'of America, whoſe ſeat extended from *Ken-'tucke* ſouth-weſtward to the Miſſiſſippi, have 'been ſubdued by the confederates, (or Six 'Nations,) *and the country ſince became their 'property*. No nation,' Mr. Evans adds, 'held out with greater reſolution and bravery; 'and although they have been ſcattered in 'all parts for a while, they are again collected 'on *Ohio*, under the dominion of the confe-'derates.'

"At a congreſs held in the year 1744, by the provinces of Pennſylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, with the Six Nations,—the Commiſſioners of Virginia, in a ſpeech to the Sachems and Warriors of that confederacy, ſay, 'Tell us what nations of Indians you 'conquered any lands from in Virginia, how 'long it is ſince, and what poſſeſſion you 'have had; and if it does appear, that there 'is any land on the *borders* of Virginia that 'the Six Nations have a right to, we are 'willing to make you ſatisfaction.'

"To this ſpeech the Six Nations gave the following animated and deciſive anſwer:— 'All the world knows we conquered the 'ſeveral nations living on Saſquehanna, Co- 'hongoranto [*i. e.* Powtomack] *and on the* '*back of the great mountains in Virginia*;— 'the Conoy-uck-ſuck-roona, Cock-now-was- 'roonan, Tohoa-irough-roonan, and Connut- 'ſkin-ough-roonaw *feel* the effects of our con- 'queſts; being now a part of our nations, 'and their lands at *our* diſpoſal. We know 'very well, it hath often been ſaid by the 'Virginians, that the King of England and 'the people of that colony conquered the

'people who lived there; but it is not true. 'We will allow, they conquered the Sach-'dagughronaw, and drove back the Tuſka-'roras; [the firſt reſided near the branches 'of James's River in Virginia, and the latter 'on theſe branches;] and that they have, on 'that account, a right to ſome parts of Vir-'ginia; *but as to what lies beyond the moun-'tains, we conquered the nations reſiding there, 'and that land*, if the Virginians ever get a '*good right to it, it muſt be by us.*'

"In the year 1750, the French ſeized four Engliſh traders, who were trading with the Six Nations, Shawaneſſe and Delawares, on the waters of the Ohio, and ſent them priſoners to Quebec, and from thence to France.

"In 1754, the French took a formal poſſeſſion of the river Ohio, and built forts at Venango,—at the confluence of the Ohio and Monongehela, and at the *mouth of the Cherokee river.*

"In 1755, General Braddock was ſent to America with an army to remove the French from,

from their poſſeſſions *over* the Allegany mountains, and on the river Ohio; and on his arrival at Alexandria, held a council of war with the Governors of Virginia, Maryland, Pennſylvania, New York, and the Maſſachuſett's Bay;—and as theſe gentlemen well knew, that the country claimed by the French, *over the Allegany mountains, and ſouthweſterly to the river Miſſiſſippi*, was the unqueſtionable property of the *Six Nations*, and *not* of the Cherokees, or any other tribe of Indians,—the General gave inſtructions to Sir William Johnſon, to call together the Indians of the *Six Nations*, and lay before them their before-mentioned grant to the King in 1726,—wherein they had put all their hunting-lands *under his Majeſty's protection; to be guaranteed to them, and to their uſe*:—And as General Braddock's inſtructions are clearly declaratory of the right of the Six Nations to the lands under conſideration, we ſhall here tranſcribe the concluſive words of them:—
'And it appearing that the French have,
'from time to time, by fraud and violence,
'built ſtrong forts *within the limits of the ſaid*
'*lands*, contrary to the covenant chain of
'the

'the ſaid deed and treaties, you are, in my 'name, to aſſure the ſaid nations, that I am 'come by his Majeſty's order, to deſtroy all 'the ſaid forts, and to build ſuch others '*as ſhall protect and ſecure the ſaid lands to* '*them, their heirs and ſucceſſors for ever,* 'according to the intent and ſpirit of the 'ſaid treaty; and I do therefore call upon 'them to take up the hatchet, *and come and* '*take poſſeſſion of their own lands.*'

"That General Braddock and the American Governors were not ſingular in their opinion, as to the right of the Six Nations to the land *over* the Allegany mountains, and on both ſides of the river Ohio, quite to the Miſſiſſippi, is evident, from the memorials which paſſed between the Britiſh and French courts in 1755.

"In a memorial delivered by the King's miniſters on the 7th June 1755, to the Duke Mirepoix, relative to the pretenſions of France to the above-mentioned lands, they very juſtly obſerved—'As to the expoſition, which is 'made in the French memorial of the 15th

'article of the treaty of Utrecht, the court 'of Great Britain does not think it can have 'any foundation, either by the words or the 'intention of this treaty.

'1ſt, The court of Great Britain can'not allow of this article, relating only to 'the perſons of the ſavages, and *not to their* '*country*: the words of this treaty are clear 'and preciſe; that is to ſay, the *Five Nations*, 'or Cantons, are ſubject to the dominion of 'Great Britain,—which, by the received ex'poſition of all treaties, muſt relate to the '*country*, as well to the perſons of the in'habitants;—it is what France has acknow'ledged in the moſt ſolemn manner:—ſhe 'has well weighed the importance of this 'acknowledgment, at the time of ſigning 'this treaty, and Great Britain can never 'give it up. The countries poſſeſſed by 'theſe Indians *are very well known, and are* '*not at all ſo undetermined*, as it is pretended 'in the memorial: they *poſſeſs* and *make them* '*over, as other proprietors do, in all other* '*places*.'

'5th,

'5th, Whatever pretext might be al-'ledged by France, in considering these coun-'tries as the appurtenances of Canada; *it 'is a certain truth, that they have belonged, 'and* (as they have not been given up, *or 'made over* to the English) *belong still to the 'same Indian nations*; which, by the 15th 'article of the treaty of Utrecht, France 'agreed not to molest,—Nullo in posterum 'impedimento, aut molestia afficiant.'

'Notwithstanding all that has been ad-'vanced in this article, the court of Great 'Britain *cannot* agree to France having the 'least title to the river Ohio, and the *terri-'tory in question.*' [*N. B.* This was *all* the country from the Allegany mountains to the Ohio, and down the same, and on both sides thereof to the river Mississippi.]

'Even that of possession is not, nor can 'it be alleged on this occasion; since France 'cannot pretend to have had any such before 'the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, nor since, 'unless it be that of certain *forts*, unjustly 'erected lately *on the lands which evidently*

'*belong*

'*belong to the Five Nations*, or which these
'have made over to the Crown of Great
'Britain or its subjects, as may be proved by
'treaties and acts of the greatest authority.—
'*What* the court of Great Britain *maintained*,
'*and what it insists upon*, is, *That the Five*
'*Nations of the Iroquois*, *acknowledged* by
'France, *are*, by origin, or *by right of conquest*
'the *lawful proprietors of the river Ohio*, *and*
'*the territory in question:* and as to the ter-
'ritory which has been *yielded and made over*
'*by these people* to Great Britain, (which can-
'not but be owned must be the most just
'and lawful manner of making an acquisition
'of this sort,) she reclaims it, as belonging to
'her, having continued cultivating it for
'above 20 years past, and having made set-
'tlements in several parts of it, from the
'sources even of the Ohio to Pichawillanes,
'in the centre of the territory between the
'Ohio and the Wabache.'

"In 1755, the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations were so solicitous to ascertain the territory of the Six Nations, that Dr. Mitchel, by their desire, published a large map

map of North America; and Mr. Pownal, the present Secretary of the Board of Trade, *then* certified, as appears on the map,—That the Doctor was furnished with documents for the purpose from that Board.—In this map Dr. Mitchel observes, 'That the Six 'Nations have extended their territories, ever 'since the year 1672, *when they subdued and 'were incorporated with the antient Shawanesse, 'the native proprietors of these countries, and 'the river Ohio:* besides which, they like- 'wise claim a right of conquest over the 'Illinois, and all the Mississippi, as far as they 'extend. This,' he adds, 'is confirmed by 'their own claims and possessions in 1742, 'which include all the bounds here laid 'down, and none have ever thought fit to 'dispute them.' And, in confirmation of this right of the Six Nations to the country on the Ohio, as mentioned by the King's ministers, in their memorial to the Duke of Mirepoix in 1755, we would just remark, that the Six Nations, Shawanesse and Delawares, were in the *actual occupation* of the lands *southward* of the Great Kenhawa for some time after the French had encroached

upon

upon the river Ohio; and that in the year 1752, theſe tribes had a large town on Kentucke river,—238 miles below the *Sioto*:—that in the year 1754, they reſided and hunted on the *ſoutherly* ſide of the river Ohio, in the *Low Country*, at about 320 miles *below* the Great Kenhawa;—and in the year 1755, they had alſo a large town oppoſite to the mouth of Sioto;—*at the very place* which is the *ſouthern boundary* line of the tract of land applied for by Mr. Walpole and his aſſociates.—But it is a certain fact, that the Cherokees *never* had any towns or ſettlements in the country *ſouthward* of the Great Kenhawa;—that they do *not* hunt there, and that neither the Six Nations, Shawaneſſe nor Delawares, do *now* reſide or hunt on the ſoutherly ſide of the river Ohio, nor did *not* for ſeveral years *before* they ſold the country to the King. Theſe are facts which can be eaſily and fully proved.

"In October 1768, at a congreſs held with the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix, they obſerved to Sir William Johnſon: "Now, brother, you who know all our affairs, muſt be ' ſenſible

'sensible that *our* rights go much farther 'to the *southward* than the *Kenhawa*,—and 'that we have a very good and clear title 'as far *south* as the *Cherokee river*, which we 'cannot allow to be the right of any other 'Indians, without doing wrong to our poste-'rity, and acting unworthy those warriors 'who fought and conquered it;—we there-'fore expect this our right will be con-'sidered.'

"In November 1768, the Six Nations sold to the King all the country on the southerly side of the river Ohio, as far as to the Cherokee river; but notwithstanding that sale, as soon as it was understood in Virginia that government *favoured* the pretensions of the Cherokees, and that Dr. Walker and Colonel Lewis (the commissioners sent from that colony to the congress at Fort Stanwix) had returned from thence, the late Lord Botetourt sent these gentlemen to Charles-town, South Carolina, to endeavour to convince Mr. Stuart, the Southern Superintendant of Indian affairs, of the necessity of enlarging the boundary line, which he had settled with the Chero-

Cherokees;—and to run it from the *Great Kenhawa* to Holſton's river. Theſe gentlemen were appointed commiſſioners by his Lordſhip, as they had been long converſant in Indian affairs, and were well acquainted with the actual extent of the Cherokee country. Whilſt theſe commiſſioners were in South Carolina, they wrote a letter to Mr. Stuart, as he had been but a very few years in the Indian ſervice, (and could not, from the nature of his former employment, be ſuppoſed to be properly informed about the Cherokee territory,) reſpecting the claims of the Cherokees to the lands *ſouthward* of the Great Kenhawa, and therein they expreſſed themſelves as follows:

'Charles-town, South Carolina,
Feb. 2, 1769.

'The country *ſouthward* of *the Big Kenhawa was never claimed by the Cherokees*, and now is the property of the Crown, as Sir William Johnſon purchaſed it of the Six Nations at a very conſiderable expence, and took a deed of ceſſion from them at Fort Stanwix.'

"In

"In 1769, the Houſe of Burgeſſes of the colony of Virginia repreſented to Lord Bottetourt, 'That they have the greateſt reaſon 'to fear the ſaid line,' (meaning the boundary line, which the Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations have referred to in the map annexed to their Lordſhips' report,) 'if confirmed, would conſtantly open to the 'Indians, and others *enemies* to his Majeſty, 'a free and eaſy ingreſs to the heart of the 'country on the Ohio, Holſton's river, and 'the Great Kenhawa; whereby the ſettle-'ments which may be attempted in theſe 'quarters, will, in all probability, be utterly 'deſtroyed, and *that great extent of country* '[at leaſt 800 miles in length] *from the mouth* '*of the Kenhawa* to the *mouth of the Che-*'*rokee river* extending eaſtward as far as the 'Laurell Hill, *ſo lately ceded to his Majeſty,* '*to which no tribe of Indians at preſent ſet* '*up any pretenſions, will be entirely aban-*'*doned to the Cherokees*; in conſequence of 'which, claims, *totally deſtructive* of the true 'intereſt of his Majeſty, may at ſome future 'time ariſe, *and acquiſitions juſtly ranked among* '*the moſt valuable of the late war be alto-*'*gether loſt.*'

"From

" From the foregoing detail of facts, it is obvious,

" 1ſt, That the country *ſouthward* of the *Great Kenhawa*, at leaſt as far as the Cherokee river, originally belonged to the Shawaneſſe.

" 2d, That the Six Nations, in virtue of their conqueſt of the Shawaneſſe, became the lawful proprietors of that country.

" 3d, That the King, in conſequence of the grant from the Six Nations, made to his Majeſty at Fort Stanwix in 1768, is *now* veſted with the undoubted right and property thereof.

" 4th, That the Cherokees *never* reſided nor hunted in that country, and have *not* any kind of right to it.

" 5th, That the Houſe of Burgeſſes of the colony of Virginia have, upon good grounds, aſſerted, [ſuch as properly ariſe from the nature of their ſtations, and proximity to the Cherokee country,] that the Cherokees had not

not any juſt pretenſions to the territory *ſouthward* of the Great Kenhawa.

"And laſtly, That neither the Six Nations, the Shawaneſſe nor Delawares, do *now* reſide, or hunt in that country.

"From theſe conſiderations, it is evident no poſſible injury can ariſe to his Majeſty's ſervice,—to the Six Nations and their confederacy,—or to the Cherokees, by permitting us to ſettle the *whole* of the lands comprehended within our contract with the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury:——If, however, there has been any treaty held with the Six Nations, *ſince* the ceſſion made to his Majeſty at Fort Stanwix, whereby the faith of the crown is pledged, both to the Six Nations and the Cherokees, that no ſettlements ſhould be made beyond the line, marked on their Lordſhips' report; we ſay, if ſuch agreement has been made by the orders of government with theſe tribes, (notwithſtanding, as the Lords Commiſſioners have acknowledged, '*the Six Nations had ceded the property in the lands to his Majeſty*')—We flatter

flatter ourſelves, that the objection of their Lordſhips in the ſecond paragraph of their Report, will be entirely obviated by a ſpecific clauſe being inſerted in the King's grant to us, *expreſsly prohibiting us from ſettling any part of the ſame*, until ſuch time as we ſhall have *firſt* obtained his Majeſty's allowance, and the full conſent of the Cherokees, and the Six Nations and their confederates, for that purpoſe.

"III. In regard to the third paragraph of their Lordſhips' Report, that it was the *principle* of the Board of Trade, *after* the treaty of Paris, 'to *confine* the weſtern extent 'of ſettlements to ſuch a diſtance from the 'ſea-coaſt, as that theſe ſettlements ſhould 'lie within the *reach* of the trade and com'merce of this kingdom,' *&c.* we ſhall not preſume to controvert;—but it may be obſerved, that the ſettlement of the country *over* the Allegany mountains, and on the Ohio, was *not* underſtood, either *before* the treaty of Paris, nor intended to be ſo conſidered by his Majeſty's proclamation of October 1763, 'as *without the reach of the trade and com-*

'merce

'*merce of this kingdom*,' &c.;—for, in the year 1748, Mr. John Hanbury, and a number of other gentlemen, petitioned the King for a grant of 500,000 acres of land *over* the Allegany mountains, and on the river Ohio and its branches; and the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations were *then* pleased to *report* to the Lords Committee of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, '*That the settlement of the country, lying to* '*the westward* of the *great mountains*, as it 'was the centre of the British dominions, '*would be for his Majesty's interest, and the* '*advantage and security of Virginia and the* '*neighbouring colonies*.'

"And on the 23d of February 1748-9, the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations *again reported* to the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council, that they had 'fully *set forth the great utility and ad-* '*vantage of extending our settlements beyond* '*the great mountains* (which *Report has been* '*approved of by your Lordships*).—And as, 'by these *new* proposals, there is *a great pro-* '*bability of having a much larger tract of*

'*the ſaid country ſettled than under the former,*
'*we are of opinion, that it will be greatly for*
'*his Majeſty's ſervice,* and the *welfare and*
'*ſecurity of Virginia, to comply with the prayer*
'*of the petition.*'

"And on the 16th of March 1748-9, an *inſtruction* was ſent to the Governor of Virginia to grant 500,000 acres of land *over the Allegany mountains* to the aforeſaid Mr. Hanbury and his partners (who are now *part* of the company of Mr. Walpole and his aſſociates); and that inſtruction ſets forth, That '*ſuch ſettlements will be for our intereſt,* and 'the *advantage* and *ſecurity of our ſaid colony,* '*as well as the advantage of the neighbouring* '*ones;*—inaſmuch as our loving ſubjects *will* '*be thereby enabled to cultivate a friendſhip,* '*and carry on a more extenſive commerce* with 'the nations of Indians inhabiting thoſe 'parts; *and ſuch examples may likewiſe induce* '*the neighbouring colonies to turn their thoughts* '*towards deſigns of the ſame nature.*'—— Hence we apprehend, it is evident, that a former Board of Trade, at which Lord Halifax preſided, was of opinion, that ſettlements

over

over the Allegany mountains were not againſt the King's intereſt, *nor* at ſuch a diſtance from the ſea-coaſt, as to *be without* 'the *reach* 'of the trade and commerce of this king- 'dom,' nor *where* its authority or juriſ-diction could not be exerciſed.—But the *Report* under conſideration ſuggeſts, that two capital objects of the proclamation of 1763 were, *to confine* 'future ſettlements to the 'ſources of the rivers which fall into the ſea 'from the weſt and north-weſt,' (or, in other words, to *the eaſtern ſide of the Allegany mountains*,) and to the three new governments of Canada, Eaſt Florida, and Weſt Florida;— and to eſtabliſh this fact, the Lords Commiſ-ſioners for Trade and Plantations recite a part of that proclamation.

"But if the *whole* of this proclamation is conſidered, it will be found to contain the nine following heads: *viz.*

"1ſt, To declare to his Majeſty's ſubjects, that he had erected four diſtinct and ſeparate governments in America; *viz.* Quebec, Eaſt Florida, Weſt Florida, and Grenada.

"2d, To ascertain the respective boundaries of these four new governments.

"3d, To testify the royal sense and approbation of the conduct and bravery, both of the officers and soldiers of the King's army, and of the reduced officers of the navy, who had served in North America, and to reward them by grants of lands in Quebec, and in East and West Florida, without fee or reward.

"4th, To hinder the Governors of Quebec, East Florida and West Florida, from granting warrants of survey, or passing patents for lands, *beyond* the bounds of their respective governments.

"5th, To forbid the governors of any other colonies or plantations in America, from granting warrants or passing patents for lands, *beyond* the heads or sources of any of the rivers, which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the west or north-west, or upon any lands whatever, '*which, not having been* '*CEDED to or purchased by the King*, are

'reserved

'reserved to the said Indians, or any of 'them.'

"6th, To reserve, '*for the present*,' under the King's sovereignty, protection, and dominion, *for the use of the said Indians*, all the lands *not* included within the limits of the said three new governments, or within the limits of the Hudson's Bay Company; as also, all the lands lying to the westward of the sources of the rivers, which fall into the sea from the west and north-west, and forbidding the King's subjects from making any purchases of settlements whatever, or taking possession of the lands *so reserved*, without his Majesty's leave and licence first obtained.

"7th, To require all persons, who had made settlements on lands, *not* purchased by the King from the Indians, to remove from such settlements.

"8th, To regulate the future purchases of lands from the Indians, within such parts as

as his Majeſty, by that proclamation, permitted ſettlements to be made.

"9th, To declare, that the trade with the Indians ſhould be free and open to all his Majeſty's ſubjects, and to preſcribe the manner how it ſhall be carried on.

"And laſtly, To require all military officers, and the ſuperintendants of Indian affairs, to ſeize and apprehend all perſons who ſtood charged with treaſons, murders, &c. and who had fled from juſtice, and taken refuge in the reſerved lands of the Indians, to ſend ſuch perſons to the colony, *where* they ſtood accuſed.

"From this proclamation, therefore, it is obvious, that the ſole deſign of it, independent of the eſtabliſhment of the three new governments, aſcertaining their reſpective boundaries, rewarding the officers and ſoldiers, and regulating the Indian trade, and apprehending felons, was to *convince* the Indians 'of his Majeſty's juſtice and determined

‘ reſolution to remove all reaſonable cauſe of diſcontent,’ by interdicting all ſettlements on land, not *ceded to or purchaſed by his Majeſty*; and declaring it to be, as we have already mentioned, his royal will and pleaſure, ‘ for *the preſent, to reſerve*, under his ſovereignty, protection, and dominion, *for the uſe of the Indians*, all the lands and territories lying to the weſtward of the ſources of the rivers which fall into the ſea from the weſt and north-weſt.’—Can any words expreſs more deciſively the royal intention?—Do they not explicitly mention, That the territory is, *at preſent*, reſerved under his Majeſty's protection, *for the uſe of the Indians?*—And as the Indians had *no uſe* for thoſe lands, which are bounded *weſterly* by the *ſouth-eaſt ſide* of the river Ohio, either for reſidence or hunting, they were willing to ſell them; and accordingly did ſell them to the King in November 1768, (the occaſion of which ſale wi[illegible] fully explained in our obſervations in the ſucceeding paragraphs of the *Report*).—Of courſe, the proclamation, ſo far as it regarded the ſettlement of the lands included within that purchaſe, has abſolutely

solutely and undoubtedly ceased.—The late Mr. Grenville, who was, at the time of issuing this proclamation, the minister of this kingdom, always admitted, that the design of it was totally accomplished, *so soon as the country was purchased of the natives.*

"IV. In this paragraph, the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations mention two reasons for his Majesty's entering into engagements with the Indians, for fixing a *more precise and determinate boundary line* than was settled by the proclamation of October 1763, *viz.*

"1st, Partly for want of *precision* in the one intended to be marked by the proclamation of 1763.

"2d, And partly from a consideration of justice in regard to *legal rights to lands.*

"We have, we presume, fully proved, in our observations on the third paragraph, That the design of the proclamation, so far as it related to lands *westward* of the Allegany

gany mountains, was for no other purpoſe than to *reſerve* them, under his Majeſty's protection, for *the preſent, for the uſe of the Indians*; to which we ſhall only add, That the line eſtabliſhed by the proclamation, ſo far as it concerned the lands in queſtion, could *not* poſſibly be fixed and deſcribed with more *preciſion*, than the proclamation itſelf deſcribes it; for it declares, That 'all the lands and 'territories lying to the weſtward of the 'ſources of the rivers, *which fall into the 'ſea from the weſt and north-weſt*,' ſhould be reſerved under his Majeſty's protection.

"Neither, in our opinion, was his Majeſty induced to enter into engagements with the Indians for fixing a more *preciſe* and determinate boundary '*partly from a conſideration 'of juſtice, in regard to legal titles to lands*,' —for there were *none* ſuch (as we ſhall prove) comprehended within the tract *now* under conſideration.

"But for a full comprehenſion of ALL the reaſons for his Majeſty's 'entering into en-'gagements with the Indians, for fixing a

'more

'more precife and determinate boundary 'line' than was fettled by the royal proclamation of October 1763, we fhall take the liberty of ftating the following facts:—In the year 1764, the King's minifters had it *then* in contemplation to obtain an act of parliament for the proper regulation of the Indian commerce; and providing a fund (by laying a duty on the trade) for the fupport of fuperintendants, commiffaries, interpreters, &c. at particular forts in the Indian country, *where* the trade was to be carried on:—And as a part of this fyftem, it was thought proper, in order to avoid future complaints from the Indians, on account of encroachments on their hunting-grounds, to purchafe a large tract of territory from them, and eftablifh, with their confent, a refpectable *boundary line*, beyond which his Majefty's fubjects fhould *not* be permitted to fettle.

"In confequence of this fyftem, orders were tranfmitted to Sir William Johnfon, in the year 1764, to call together the Six Nations, lay this propofition of the *boundary* before them, and take their opinion upon it.—

This,

This, we apprehend, will appear evident from the following ſpeech, made by Sir William to the Six Nations, at a conference which he held with them, at Johnſon Hall, May the 2d, 1765.

'BRETHREN,

'The laſt but the moſt important affair I 'have at this time to mention, is with regard 'to the *ſettling a boundary between you and* '*the Engliſh*. I ſent a meſſage to ſome 'of your nations ſome time ago, to acquaint 'you, that I ſhould confer with you at this 'meeting upon it. The King, whoſe ge-'neroſity and forgiveneſs you have already 'experienced, *being very deſirous to put a* '*final end to diſputes between his people and* 'YOU CONCERNING LANDS, and to do you 'ſtrict juſtice, has fallen upon the plan of 'a boundary between our provinces and the 'Indians (which no white man ſhall dare 'to invade) as the beſt and ſureſt method of 'ending ſuch like diſputes, and *ſecuring* '*your property* to you, beyond a poſſibility 'of diſturbance. This will, I hope, appear 'to you ſo reaſonable, ſo juſt on the part

'of

'of the King, and so advantageous to you 'and your posterity, that I can have no 'doubt of your chearfully joining with me 'in settling such a division-line, as will 'be best for the advantage of both white 'men and Indians, *and as shall best agree 'with the extent and increase of each pro-'vince*, and the governors, whom I shall 'consult upon that occasion, so soon as I am 'fully empowered; but in the mean time 'I am desirous to know in what manner you 'would choose to extend it, and what you 'will heartily agree to, and abide by, in 'general terms. At the same time I am 'to acquaint you, that whenever the whole 'is settled, and that it shall appear you have '*so far consulted the increasing state of our 'people, as to make any convenient cessions of 'ground* where it is most wanted, that *then* 'you will receive a considerable present in 'return for your friendship.'

"To this speech the Sachems and Warriors of the Six Nations, after conferring some time among themselves, gave an answer to Sir William Johnson, and agreed to the pro-position

poſition of the boundary line;—which anſwer, and the other tranſactions of this conference, Sir William tranſmitted to the office of the Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations.

"From a change of the adminiſtration, which formed the above ſyſtem of obtaining an act of parliament for regulating the Indian trade, and eſtabliſhing the *boundary line*, or from ſome other public cauſe, unknown to us,—no meaſures were adopted, until the latter end of the year 1767, for *completing* the negotiation about this boundary line.—But in the mean time, *viz*. between the years 1765 and 1768, the King's ſubjects removed in *great* numbers from Virginia, Maryland, and Pennſylvania, and ſettled *over* the mountains,—upon which account, the Six Nations became ſo irritated, that in the year 1766 they killed ſeveral perſons, and denounced a general war againſt the middle colonies; and to appeaſe them, and to avoid ſuch a public calamity, a detachment of the 42d regiment of foot was *that year* ſent from the garriſon of Fort Pitt, to remove ſuch ſettlers

as

as were ſeated at *Red Stone Creek*, &c.—but the endeavours and threats of that detachment proved ineffectual, and they returned to the garriſon, without being able to execute their orders.—The complaints of the Six Nations however continuing and *increaſing*, on account of the ſettling of their lands *over* the mountains, General Gage wrote to the Governor of Pennſylvania on the 7th of December 1767, and after mentioning theſe complaints, he obſerved, '*You are a wit-*
'*neſs how little attention has been paid to the*
'*ſeveral proclamations that have been pub-*
'*liſhed; and that even the removing thoſe*
'*people from the lands in queſtion*, which *was*
'*attempted this ſummer by the garriſon at*
'*Fort Pitt*, has *been only a temporary expe-*
'*dient.* We learn they are *returned again*
'to the ſame *encroachments* on Red Stone
'Creek and Cheat River in *greater numbers*
'*than ever.*'

"On the 5th of January 1768, the Governor of Pennſylvania ſent a meſſage to the General Aſſembly of the province with the foregoing letter from General Gage,—and on the

the 13th the Assembly, in the conclusion of a message to the Governor on the subject of Indian complaints, observed, 'To obviate 'which cause of their discontent, and effectually to establish between them and his 'Majesty's subjects a durable peace, we are 'of opinion, that a speedy *confirmation* of the '*boundary*, and a just satisfaction made to 'them for their lands on this side of it, are 'absolutely necessary. By this means all 'their present complaints of encroachments 'will be removed, and the people on our 'frontiers will have a sufficient country *to 'settle or hunt in, without interfering with 'them.*'

"On the 19th of January 1768, Mr. Galloway, the Speaker of the Assembly in Pennsylvania, and the Committee of Correspondence, wrote on the subject of the Indians disquietude, by order of the House, to their agents Richard Jackson and Benjamin Franklin, Esquires, in London; and therein they said, 'That the delay of the confirmation of 'the *boundary* the natives have warmly com-'plained of, *and that although they have re-*

'*ceived no consideration* for the *lands agreed*
'*to be ceded to the crown on our* side of the
'boundary, *yet that its subjects are daily set-*
'*tling and occupying those very lands.*'

"In April 1768, the legislature of Pennsylvania finding that the expectations of an Indian war were hourly increasing, *occasioned by the settlement of the lands over the mountains*, not sold by the natives; and flattering themselves, that orders would soon arrive from England for the perfection of the boundary line; they voted the sum of one thousand pounds, to be given as a present, in blankets, strouds, &c. to the Indians upon the Ohio, with a view of moderating their resentment, until these orders should arrive: and the Governor of Pennsylvania being informed, that a treaty was soon to be held at Fort Pitt by George Croghan Esq. deputy agent of Indian affairs, by order of General Gage and Sir William Johnson, he sent his secretary and another gentleman, as commissioners from the province, to deliver the above present to the Indians at Fort Pitt.

"On the 2d of May 1768, the Six Nations made the following ſpeech at that conference:

'BROTHER,

'It is not without grief that we ſee our 'country *ſettled by you*, without our know- 'ledge or conſent; and it is a long time ſince 'we complained to you of this grievance, 'which we find has not yet been redreſſed; 'but *ſettlements* are ſtill *extending further* '*into our country*: ſome of them are made 'directly on our war-path, leading to our 'enemies country, and we do not like it. 'Brother, you have *laws among you* to govern 'your people by; and it will be the ſtrongeſt 'proof of the ſincerity of your friendſhip, 'to let us ſee that you remove the people 'from our lands; as we look upon it, *they* '*will have time enough to ſettle them, when* '*you have purchaſed them, and the country* '*becomes yours*.'

"The Pennſylvania commiſſioners, in anſwer to this ſpeech, informed the Six Nations, that the Governor of that province had ſent

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four gentlemen with his proclamation and the act of assembly (making it *felony of death* without benefit of clergy, to continue on Indian lands) to such settlers *over* the mountains as were seated within the limits of Pennsylvania, requiring them to vacate their settlements; but all to no avail:—that the Governor of Virginia had likewise, to as little purpose, issued his proclamations and orders, and that General Gage had twice *ineffectually* sent parties of soldiers to remove the settlers from Red Stone Creek and Monongehela.

"As soon as Mr. Jackson and Dr. Franklin received the foregoing instructions from the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, they waited upon the American minister, and urged the expediency and necessity of the boundary line being speedily concluded; and, in consequence thereof, additional orders were immediately transmitted to Sir William Johnson for that purpose.

"It is plain, therefore, that the proclamation of October 1763 was *not* designed, as the

the Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations have ſuggeſted, to ſignify the policy of this kingdom, *againſt* ſettlements *over* the Allegany mountains, *after* the King had actually purchaſed the territory; and that the *true* reaſons for purchaſing the lands compriſed within that boundary were to avoid an Indian rupture, and give an opportunity to the King's ſubjects quietly and lawfully to ſettle thereon.

"V. Whether the Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations are well founded in their declarations, that the lands under conſideration '*are out of all advantageous intercourſe with this kingdom,*' ſhall be fully conſidered in our obſervations on the ſixth paragraph:—and as to 'the various propoſitions for erecting new colonies in the '*interior parts*, which, their Lordſhips ſay, 'have been, in conſequence of the extenſion 'of the boundary line, ſubmitted to the 'conſideration of government, particularly 'in *that part of the country* wherein are ſitu'ated the lands now prayed for, and the 'danger of complying with ſuch propoſals 'have

'have been ſo obvious, as to *defeat* every at-
'tempt for carrying them into execution;'—
we ſhall only obſerve on this paragraph, that as we do not know what theſe propoſitions were, or upon what principle the propoſers have been *defeated*, it is impoſſible for us to judge, whether they are any ways applicable to our caſe.—Conſiſtent however with our knowledge, no more than one propoſition, for the ſettlement of a *part* of the lands in queſtion, has been preſented to government; and that was from Dr. Lee, 32 other Americans, and two Londoners, in the year 1768; praying that his Majeſty would *grant* to them, without *any purchaſe-money*, 2,500,000 acres of land *in one or more ſurveys*, to be located between the 38th and 42d degrees of latitude, *over the Allegany mountains*, and on condition of their poſſeſſing theſe lands 12 *years* WITHOUT *the payment of any quit-rent* (the ſame *not* to begin until the whole 2,500,000 acres were ſurveyed); and that they ſhould be obliged to ſettle only 200 *families in* 12 *years*. Surely, the Lords Commiſſioners did not mean this propoſition as one that was ſimilar, and

and would *apply* to the caſe now *reported* upon; and eſpecially as Dr. Lee and his aſſociates did not propoſe, as we do, either to purchaſe the lands, or pay the quit-rents to his Majeſty, *neat and clear of all deductions*, or be at the *whole* expence of eſtabliſhing and maintaining the civil government of the country.

" VI. In the ſixth paragraph the Lords Commiſſioners obſerve, That '*every argument* '*on the ſubject*, reſpecting the ſettlement of ' the lands in that part of the country now ' prayed for, *is collected together*, *with great* '*force and preciſion*, *in a Repreſentation made* '*to his Majeſty* by the Lords Commiſſioners ' for Trade and Plantations, in March 1768.'

" That it may be clearly underſtood what was the occaſion of this *Repreſentation*, we ſhall take the liberty of mentioning, that on the 1ſt of October 1767, and during the time that the Earl of Shelburne was Secretary of State for the ſouthern department, an idea was entertained of forming, '*at the expence* '*of the crown*,' three *new governments* in

 North

North America, *viz.* one at *Detroit* [on the waters between Lake Huron and Lake Erie]; one in the *Illinois Country*, and one on the *lower* part of the river Ohio: and in confequence of fuch an idea, a *reference* was made by his Lordfhip to the Lords Commiffioners for Trade and Plantations, for their opinion upon thefe propofed *new* governments.

" Having plainly explained the caufe of the *Reprefentation*, which is fo very ftrongly and earneftly infifted upon by the Lords Commiffioners for Trade and Plantations, as containing ' *every argumeut on the fubject* of ' the lands which is at prefent before your ' Lordfhips;' we fhall now give our reafons for apprehending, *that it* is fo far from applying againft our cafe, that it actually declares a permiffion would be given to fettle the very lands in queftion.

" Three principal reafons are affigned in the *Reprefentation*, ' as conducive to the great ' object of colonizing upon the continent of ' North America, *viz.*

" 1ft,

"1ſt, 'Promoting the advantageous fiſhery 'carried on upon the *northern coaſt*.'

"2dly, 'Encouraging the growth and cul- 'ture of naval ſtores, and of *raw materials*, 'to be tranſported hither, in exchange for 'perfect manufactures and other merchan- 'dize.'

"3dly, 'Securing a ſupply of lumber, pro- 'viſions, and other neceſſaries, for the ſup- 'port of our eſtabliſhments in the American 'iſlands.'

"On the firſt of theſe reaſons, we apprehend, it is not neceſſary for us to make many obſervations; as the provinces of New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, and the colonies *ſouthward* of them, have *not*, and from the nature of their ſituation and commerce will *not*, promote the *fiſhery* more, it is conceived, than the propoſed Ohio colony. Theſe provinces are, however, beneficial to this kingdom, in the culture and exportation of different articles;—as it is humbly preſumed the Ohio colony *will* likewiſe be,

 if

if the production *of staple commodities* is allowed to be within that description.

"On the 2d and 3d general reasons of the *Representation* we shall observe, that no part of his Majesty's dominions in North America will require less *encouragement* 'for the growth 'and culture of naval stores and raw materials, and for the supplying the islands 'with lumber, provisions,' &c. than the solicited colony on the Ohio;—and for the following reasons:

"First; The lands in question are excellent, the climate temperate, the native grapes, silk-worms, and mulberry-trees, are every where; hemp grows spontaneously in the valleys and low lands; iron-ore is plenty in the hills; and no soil is better adapted for the culture of tobacco, flax, and cotton, than that of the Ohio.

"Second; The country is well watered by several navigable rivers, communicating with each other; and by which, and a short land-carriage of *only* 40 *miles*, the produce of the lands

lands of the Ohio can, even *now*, be ſent *cheaper* to the ſea-port town of Alexandria, on the river Potomack, (where General Braddock's tranſports landed his troops,) than any kind of merchandize is at this time ſent *from Northampton to London.*

"Third; The river Ohio is, at *all* ſeaſons of the year, navigable for large boats, like the Weſt Country barges, rowed only by four or five men; and from the month of January to the month of April, large ſhips may be built on the Ohio, and ſent laden with *hemp, iron, flax, ſilk*, &c. to this kingdom.

"Fourth; Flour, corn, beef, ſhip-plank, and other neceſſaries, can be ſent down the ſtream of the Ohio to Weſt Florida, and from thence to the iſlands, much cheaper, and in better order, than from New York or Philadelphia.

"Fifth; Hemp, tobacco, iron, and ſuch bulky articles, can alſo be ſent *down* the *ſtream* of the Ohio to the *ſea*, at leaſt 50 *per centum* cheaper than theſe articles were ever

ever carried by a land carriage, of only 60 miles, in Pennſylvania,—where *waggonage* is cheaper than in any other part of North America.

"Sixth; The expence of tranſporting Britiſh manufactories from the ſea to the Ohio colony will *not* be ſo much as is now paid, and muſt ever be paid, to a great part of the countries of *Pennſylvania*, *Virginia*, and *Maryland*.

"From this ſtate of facts, we apprehend, it is clear that the lands in queſtion are altogether capable, and will advantageouſly admit, from their fertility, ſituation, and the ſmall expence attending the exporting the produce of them to this kingdom,—'of *conducing* 'to the great object of colonizing upon 'the continent of North America:'—but that we may more particularly elucidate this important point, we ſhall take the freedom of obſerving,—that it is *not* diſputed, but even acknowledged, by the very *Report* now under conſideration, that the climate and ſoil of the Ohio are as favourable as we have

deſcribed

described them;—and as to the native silk-worms, it is a truth, that *above* 10,000 weight of cocoons was, in August 1771, sold at the public filature in Philadelphia;—and that the silk produced from the *native* worm is of a good quality, and has been much approved of in this city.—As to *hemp*, we are ready to make it appear, that it grows, as we have represented, spontaneously, and of a good texture on the Ohio.—When, therefore, the *increasing* dependence of this kingdom upon *Russia*, for this very article, is considered, and that none has been exported from the *sea-coast American colonies*, as their soil will not easily produce it,—this dependence must surely be admitted as a subject of great national consequence, and worthy of the serious attention of government. Nature has pointed out to us *where* any quantity of hemp can be soon and easily raised; and by that means, not only a large amount of specie may be retained *yearly* in this kingdom, but our own subjects can be employed most advantageously, and paid in the *manufactures* of this kingdom. The state of the Russian trade is briefly thus:

From

From the year 1722 to 1731,—250 ſhips were, on a medium, ſent each year to St. Peterſburgh, Narva, Riga, and Archangel, for *hemp*,	250 ſhips.
And from the year 1762 to 1771,—500 ſhips were alſo ſent for that purpoſe,	500
Increaſe in ten years,	250 ſhips.

"Here, then, it is obvious that in the laſt *ten* years there was, on a medium, an increaſe of 250 ſhips in the Ruſſian trade. Can it be conſiſtent with the wiſdom and policy of the greateſt naval and commercial nation in the world, to depend wholly on *foreigners* for the ſupply of an article, in which is included the very exiſtence of her navy and commerce? Surely not; and eſpecially when God has bleſſed us with a country yielding *naturally* the very commodity which draws our money from us, and renders us *dependent* on Ruſſia for it.

"As we have only hitherto *generally* ſtated the *ſmall* expence of carriage between the waters

waters of Potomack and thoſe of the Ohio, we ſhall now endeavour to ſhew how very ill founded the Lords for Trade and Plantations are, in the fifth paragraph of their *Report*, viz. That the lands in queſtion '*are* '*out of all advantageous intercourſe with this* '*kingdom.*' In order, however, that a proper opinion may be formed on this important article, we ſhall take the liberty of ſtating the particular expence of carriage, *even during* the laſt *French war*, (when there was no *back* carriage from the Ohio to Alexandria,) as it will be found, it was even *then* only about a *halfpenny* per *pound*, as will appear from the following account, the truth of which we ſhall fully aſcertain, *viz.*

	£.	s.	d.	
From Alexandria to Fort Cumberland, by water,	0	1	7	*per cwt.*
From Fort Cumberland to Redſtone Creek, at 14 dollars *per* waggon-load, each waggon carrying 15 *cwt.* -	0	4	2	
	0	5	9	

Note—

Note—The diſtance was *then* 70 miles, but by a *new* waggon-road, *lately* made, it is *now* but forty miles—a ſaving, of courſe, of above one-half the 5*s*. 9*d*. is *at preſent* experienced.

"If it is conſidered that this rate of carriage was *in time of war*, and *when* there were no inhabitants on the Ohio, we cannot doubt but every intelligent mind will be ſatisfied, that it is now much *leſs* than is daily paid in London for the carriage of *coarſe woollens*, *cutlery*, *iron ware*, &c. from ſeveral counties in England.

The following is the Coſt of Carriage from Birmingham, &c. *viz.*

From Birmingham to London, is	4*s*. *per cwt.*
From Walſall in Staffordſhire,	5*s*.
From Sheffield,	8*s*.
From Warrington,	7*s*.

"If the lands which are at preſent under conſideration, are, as the Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations ſay, '*out of all advantageous intercourſe with this kingdom*,' we

we are at a loſs to conceive by what ſtandard that Board calculates the rate of 'advan-'tageous intercourſe.'—If the King's ſubjects, ſettled *over* the Allegany mountains, and on the Ohio, within the *new*-erected county of Bedford, in the province of Pennſylvania, are altogether cloathed with Britiſh manufacture, as is the caſe; is that country 'out of all advantageous intercourſe with 'this kingdom?'—If merchants in London are *now* actually ſhipping Britiſh manufactures for the uſe *of the very ſettlers* on the lands in queſtion, does that exportation come within the Lords Commiſſioners deſcription of what is 'out of all advantageous inter-'courſe with this kingdom?' In ſhort, the Lords Commiſſioners admit, upon their own principles, that it is a political and advantageous intercourſe with this kingdom, *when* the ſettlements and ſettlers are confined to the *eaſtern* ſide of the Allegany mountains. Shall then the expence of carriage, even of the very coarſeſt and heavieſt cloths, or other articles, from the *mountains* to the Ohio, only about 70 miles, and which will not, at moſt, *increaſe* the price of carriage *above a halfpenny*

 a yard,

a yard, convert the trade and connexion with the ſettlers on the Ohio, into a predicament 'that ſhall be, as the Lords Commiſſioners 'have ſaid, *out* of all advantageous inter-'courſe with this kingdom?'—On the whole, 'if the poor Indians in the remote parts of 'North America are *now* able to pay for 'the linens, woollens, and iron ware, they 'are furniſhed with by Engliſh traders, 'though Indians have nothing but what 'they get by hunting, and the goods are 'loaded with all the impoſitions fraud and 'knavery can contrive, to *inhance* their value; 'will not induſtrious Engliſh farmers,' employed in the culture of hemp, flax, ſilk, *&c.* 'be able to pay for what ſhall be brought 'to them in the fair way of commerce;' and eſpecially when it is remembered, that there is *no* other *allowable* market for the ſale of theſe articles than in this kingdom?—And if, 'the growths of *the* country find 'their way out of it, will not the manu-'factures of this kingdom, *where* the 'hemp, *&c.* muſt be ſent to, find their way 'into it?'

"Whether

"Whether Nova Scotia, and East and West Florida have yielded advantages and returns equal to the enormous sums expended in founding and supporting them, or even advantages, such as the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, in their *Representation* of 1768, seemed to expect, it is not our business to investigate:—it is, we presume, sufficient for us to mention, that those 'many principal persons in Pennsylvania,' as is observed in the *Representation*, 'whose 'names and association lie before your Majesty in Council, for the purpose of making 'settlements in Nova Scotia,' have, several years since, been convinced of the impracticability of exciting settlers to move from the *middle colonies*, and settle in that province; and even of those who were prevailed on to go to Nova Scotia, the greater part of them returned with great complaints against the severity and length of the winters.

"As to East and West Florida, it is, we are persuaded, morally impossible to *force* the people of the *middle* provinces, between 37 and 40 degrees north latitude, (where there is

is plenty of vacant land in their own temperate climate,) to remove to the ſcorching, unwholeſome heats of theſe provinces. The inhabitants of Montpelier might as ſoon and as eaſily be perſuaded to remove to the northern parts of Ruſſia, or to Senegal.—In ſhort, it is contending with nature, and the experience of all ages, to attempt to compel a people, *born* and *living in a temperate climate*, and in the neighbourhood of a rich, healthful, and uncultivated country, to travel ſeveral hundred miles to a *ſea-port* in order to make a *voyage to ſea*; and ſettle either in extreme hot or cold latitudes. If the county of York was vacant and uncultivated, and the more *ſouthern* inhabitants of this iſland were in want of land, would they ſuffer themſelves to be driven to the *north of Scotland?*—Would they not, in ſpite of all oppoſition, *firſt* poſſeſs themſelves of that fertile country?—Thus much we have thought neceſſary to remark, in reſpect to the general principles laid down in the *Repreſentation* of 1768; and we hope we have ſhewn, that the arguments *therein* made uſe of, do *not* in any degree militate againſt the ſubject in queſtion;

but

but that they were intended, and do ſolely apply to ‘ new colonies propoſed to be eſtab-‘ liſhed,’ as the *Repreſentation* ſays, ‘ *at an* ‘ *expence to this kingdom*,’ at the diſtance of ‘ above 1500 miles from the ſea, which from ‘ their inability to find returns, *wherewith* ‘ to pay for the manufactures of Great Bri-‘ tain, will be probably led to manufacture ‘ for themſelves, *as they would*,’ continues the *Repreſentation*, ‘ be ſeparated from the *old* ‘ colonies by immenſe tracts of unpeopled ‘ deſart.’—

“ It now only remains for us to inquire, whether it was the intention of the Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations in 1768, that the territory, which would be included within the *boundary line*, then negociating with the Indians, (and which was the *one* that was *that year* perfected,) ſhould continue a uſeleſs wilderneſs, or be ſettled and occupied by his Majeſty's ſubjects.—The very *Repreſentation* itſelf, which the preſent Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations ſay contains ‘ *every argument on the* ‘ *ſubject*,’ furniſhes us an ample and ſatisfac-

 tory

tory ſolution to this important queſtion.—The Lords Commiſſioners in 1768, after pronouncing their opinion *againſt* the *propoſed three new governments*, as above ſtated, declare, 'They ought to be carefully guarded 'againſt, by encouraging the ſettlement of 'that extenſive tract of ſea-coaſt hitherto 'unoccupied; which, ſay their Lordſhips, '*together with the liberty, that the inhabitants* 'OF THE *middle colonies* WILL HAVE (in 'conſequence of the propoſed *boundary line* 'with the Indians) *of gradually extending* '*themſelves backwards*, will *more effectually* 'and *beneficially anſwer* the object of *encou*'*raging population* and *conſumption*, than the 'erection of new governments; ſuch gradual 'extenſion might, through the medium of a 'continual population, upon even the ſame 'extent of territory, *preſerve* a communi'cation of mutual commercial benefits be'tween its extremeſt parts and Great Britain, '*impoſſible to exiſt in colonies ſeparated by im*'*menſe tracts of unpeopled deſart.*'—Can any opinion be more clear and concluſive, in *favour* of the propoſition which we have humbly ſubmitted to his Majeſty?—for their

 Lordſhips

Lordſhips poſitively ſay, that the inhabitants of the middle colonies *will have liberty of gradually extending themſelves backwards*;—but is it not very extraordinary, that after near *two years* deliberation, the preſent Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations ſhould make a *Report* to the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council, and therein expreſsly refer to that opinion of 1768, in which, they ſay, ‘ *every argument on the* ‘ *ſubject is collected together with great force* ‘ *and preciſion*,’ and yet that, almoſt in the ſame breath, their Lordſhips ‘ ſhould con-‘ travene that very opinion, and adviſe his ‘ Majeſty *to check the progreſs of their ſettle-* ‘ *ments?*’—And that ‘ ſettlements in *that diſ-* ‘ *tant part* of the country ought to be *diſcou-* ‘ *raged* as much as poſſible, and another ‘ proclamation ſhould be iſſued declaratory ‘ of his Majeſty's reſolution, *not* to allow, ‘ *for the preſent*, any new ſettlement beyond ‘ the line;’—to wit, beyond the Allegany mountains?—How ſtrange and contradictory is this conduct?—But we forbear any ſtrictures upon it;—and ſhall conclude our remarks on this head, by ſtating the opinion, at

at different times, of the Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations on this ſubject.

"In 1748, their Lordſhips expreſſed the ſtrongeſt deſire to promote ſettlements *over* the mountains and on the Ohio.—

"In 1768—The then Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations declared, (in conſequence of the boundary line at that time negociating)—That the inhabitants of the *middle colonies* would *have liberty of gradually extending themſelves backwards.*

"In 1770—The Earl of Hillſborough actually *recommended* the purchaſe of a tract of land *over* the mountains, ſufficient for a new colony, and then went down to the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, to know whether their Lordſhips would treat with Mr. Walpole and his aſſociates, for ſuch purchaſe.

"In 1772—The Earl of Hillſborough, and the other Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations, made a *report* on the petition of Mr.

Mr. Walpole and his aſſociates, and referred to the *Repreſentation* of the Board of Trade in 1768, ' as containing *every argument* on the ' *ſubject, collected together with force and pre-* ' *ciſion*'—which *Repreſentation* declared, as we have ſhewn, ' *That the inhabitants of the* ' *middle colonies* WILL *have liberty to extend* ' *backwards*,' on the identical lands in queſtion; and yet, notwithſtanding ſuch *reference*, ſo ſtrongly made from the preſent Board of Trade to the opinion of that Board,—the Earl of Hillſborough, and the other Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations, have *now*, in direct terms, *reported againſt* the abſolute engagement and opinion of the Board in 1768.

" It may be aſked, what was intended by the expreſſions in the *Repreſentation* of 1768, of *gradually extending themſelves backwards*? It is anſwered, They were only in contradiſtinction to the propoſal of erecting at that time *three new governments at Detroit*, &c. and thereby exciting, as the *Repreſentation* ſays, the ſtream of population to *various* diſtant places.—In ſhort, it was, we think, beyond

yond all doubt, the '*precise*' opinion of the Lords Commissioners in 1768, That the territory, within the boundary line, then negociating, and since completed, would be sufficient at that time to answer the object of population and consumption; and that until that territory was fully occupied,—it was not necessary to erect the proposed *three new governments* '*at an expence to this kingdom*,' in places, as their Lordships observed, 'separated by immense tracts of unpeopled desart.'——

"To conclude our observations on the 6th paragraph, we would just remark,—That we presume we have demonstrated, that the inhabitants of the middle colonies *cannot* be compelled to *exchange* the soil and climate of these colonies, either for the severe colds of Nova Scotia and Canada, or the unwholesome heats of East and West Florida. Let us next enquire, what would be the effect of *confining* these inhabitants (if it was practicable) within narrow bounds, and thereby preventing them from exercising their natural inclination of cultivating lands?—and whether such

ſuch reſtriction would not force them into *manufactures*, to rival the Mother Country? —To theſe queſtions, the Lords Commiſſioners have, with much candour, replied in their Repreſentation of 1768,—We 'admit,' ſaid their Lordſhips, 'as an undeniable principle of *true policy*, that, with a view to '*prevent manufactures*, it is neceſſary and 'proper *to open* an extent of territory for 'colonization, *proportioned* to an *increaſe* of 'people, as a large number of inhabitants 'cooped up in narrow limits, without a 'ſufficiency of land *for produce*, would be 'compelled to *convert* their attention and 'induſtry to *manufactures*.'—But their Lordſhips at the ſame time obſerved,—'That the '*encouragement* given to the ſettlement of the 'colonies upon the ſea-coaſt, and the effect 'which ſuch encouragement has had, has 'already *effectually* provided for this object.' In what parts of North America this *encouragement* has thus *provided* for *population*, their Lordſhips have not mentioned. If the eſtabliſhment of the governments of Quebec, Nova Scotia, and the Iſland of St. John's, or Eaſt and Weſt Florida, was intended by their

Lordſhips

Lordſhips as that effectual proviſion,—we ſhall preſume to deny the propoſition, by aſſerting, as an undoubted truth,—that although there is at leaſt a *million* of ſubjects in the middle colonies, none have emigrated from thence, and ſettled in theſe *new* provinces;—and for that reaſon, and from the very nature of colonization itſelf, we affirm that none *will ever* be induced *to exchange* the healthy, temperate climate of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennſylvania, for the extreme colds or heats of Canada and Nova Scotia, or Eaſt and Weſt Florida:—In ſhort, it is not in the power of government to give any encouragement, that can compenſate for a deſertion of friends and neighbours,—diſſolution of family connexions, and abandoning a ſoil and climate infinitely ſuperior to thoſe of Canada, Nova Scotia, or the Floridas.—Will not, therefore, the inhabitants of the middle provinces, whoſe population is great beyond example, and who have already made ſome advances in manufactures, 'by confining 'them to their preſent narrow limits,' be neceſſarily compelled to convert their whole attention to that object? How then ſhall this, in

in the nature of things, be prevented, except, as the Lords Commiſſioners have juſtly remarked, ‘ by opening an extent of territory ‘ proportioned *to their increaſe ?*’—But *where* ſhall a territory be found proper for ‘ the ‘ *colonization* of the inhabitants of the middle ‘ colonies?’ We anſwer,—in the very country which the Lords Commiſſioners have ſaid that the inhabitants of theſe colonies would have liberty to ſettle in ;—a country which his Majeſty has purchaſed from the Six Nations ;—one, *where* ſeveral thouſands of his ſubjects are already ſettled ;—and one, *where* the Lords Commiſſioners have acknowledged, ‘ a gradual extenſion might, ‘ through the medium of a continued po- ‘ pulation, upon even the ſame extent of ‘ territory, *preſerve a communication* of mu- ‘ tual commercial benefits *between* its *extremeſt* ‘ *parts* and Great Britain.’

“ VII. This paragraph is introduced, by referring to the extract of a letter from the commander in chief of his Majeſty's forces in North America, laid by the Earl of Hillſborough before the Lords Commiſſioners for Trade

Trade and Plantations ;—but as their Lordſhips have *not* mentioned either the general's name, or the time *when* the letter was written, or what occaſioned his delivering his opinion upon the ſubject of *colonization in general*, in the '*remote countries*,'——we can only conjecture that General Gage was the writer of the letter, and that it was wrote about the year 1768,——*when* the plan of the *three new governments* was under the conſideration of the then Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations, and *before* the lands on the Ohio were bought from, and the boundary line eſtabliſhed with the Six Nations.——Indeed, we think it clear, That the General had *no* other lands at that time under his conſideration, than what he calls '*remote countries*,' ſuch as the *Detroit*, *Illinois*, and the *lower* parts of the Ohio ;——for he ſpeaks of '*foreign countries*,' from which it 'would be '*too far* to tranſport ſome kind of naval 'ſtores,' and for the ſame reaſon could *not*, he ſays, ſupply the ſugars iſlands '*with* 'lumber and proviſions.' He mentions alſo, 'planting colonies at *ſo vaſt a diſtance*, that 'the *very long tranſportation* (of ſilk, wine, '&c.)

'&c.) muſt probably make them *too dear* 'for any market,' and *where* 'the inhabitants 'could *not* have *any commodities* to barter for 'manufactures, except *ſkins and furs*.' And what, in our opinion, fully evinces that the general was giving his ſentiments upon ſettlements at *Detroit*, &c., and *not* on the territory in queſtion, is, that he ſays, 'it will be 'a queſtion likewiſe, whether colonization of 'this kind *could be effected without an Indian* '*war, and fighting for every inch of the* '*ground*.' Why the Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations ſhould encumber their *Report* with the opinion of General Gage, on what he calls the ſettlement of a '*foreign country*,' that could not be effected without '*fighting for every inch of ground*,' and how their Lordſhips could apply that caſe to the ſettlement of a territory, purchaſed by his Majeſty near four years ago, and *now* inhabited by ſeveral thouſand Britiſh ſubjects, whom the Indians themſelves, living on the Northern ſide of the Ohio, (as ſhall be fully ſhewn in the courſe of theſe obſervations,) have earneſtly requeſted may be immediately

governed, we confeſs we are wholly at a loſs to comprehend.

"VIII. The eighth paragraph highly extols not only the *accuracy and preciſion* of the foregoing Repreſentation of the Lords of Trade in 1768, (which, as has been before obſerved, expreſſed, that the inhabitants of the middle colonies *would have liberty to ſettle over* the mountains, and on the Ohio,) but alſo the above mentioned letter from the commander in chief in America; and at the ſame time introduces the ſentiments of Mr. Wright, Governor of Georgia, 'on the ſubject of large grants in the interior parts of America.'

"When this letter was written, what was the occaſion of the governor's writing it,—whether he was *then*, from his own knowledge, acquainted with the ſituation of the country *over* the mountains,—with the diſpoſition of the inhabitants of the middle colonies,—with the capability of the Ohio country, from its ſoil, climate, or communication

nication with the river Powtomack, *&c.* to ſupply this kingdom with *ſilk*, *flax*, *hemp*, &c.—and whether the principal part of Mr. Wright's eſtate is on the *ſea-coaſt* in *Georgia*,—are facts which we wiſh had been ſtated, that it might be known whether Governor Wright's 'knowledge and experience in the 'affairs of colonies ought, as the Lords of 'Trade mention, to give great weight to his 'opinion' on the preſent occaſion.

"The doctrine inſiſted on by Governor Wright appears to us reducible to the following propoſitions:

"1ſt. That if a *vaſt* territory be granted to any ſet of gentlemen who really mean to people it, and actually do ſo, *it muſt* draw and carry out a great number of people from *Great Britain*.

"2d. That they will ſoon become a kind of ſeparate and independent people, who will ſet up for themſelves,—will *ſoon* have manufactures of their own,—will *neither* take ſupplies from the mother country, nor the provinces

vinces at *the back* of which they are ſettled. That being at ſuch a diſtance from the ſeat of *government*, from *courts*, *magiſtrates*, &c. and *out* of the control of law and government, they will become a receptacle for offenders, *&c.*

" 3d. That the ſea-coaſt ſhould be *thick* ſettled with inhabitants, and be well cultivated and improved, *&c.*

" 4th. That his ideas are *not* chimerical; that he knows *ſomething* of the ſituation and ſtate of things in America; and, from ſome *little* occurrences that have happened, he can very eaſily *figure* to himſelf *what may*, and, in ſhort, *what will* certainly happen, if not prevented in time.

" On theſe propoſitions we ſhall take the liberty of making a few obſervations.

" To the *firſt* we anſwer,—We ſhall, we are perſuaded, ſatisfactorily prove, that in the middle colonies, *viz.* New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, there is hardly any

any *vacant land*, except ſuch as is monopolized by great landholders, for the purpoſe of ſelling *at high prices*; that the poor people of theſe colonies, with large families of children, *cannot* pay theſe prices; and that ſeveral thouſand families, for that reaſon, have *already* ſettled upon the Ohio; that we do not wiſh for, and ſhall not encourage one ſingle family of his Majeſty's *European ſubjects* to *ſettle* there (and this we have no objection to be prevented from doing); but ſhall *wholly* rely on the voluntary ſuperflux of the inhabitants of the middle provinces for ſettling and cultivating the lands in queſtion.

"On the *ſecond*,—It is not, we preſume, neceſſary for us to ſay more, than that all the conjectures and ſuppoſitions 'of being a 'kind of ſeparate and independent people,' *&c.* entirely loſe their force, on the propoſition of a government being eſtabliſhed on the grant applied for, as the Lords of Trade have themſelves acknowledged.

"On the *third*,—We would only briefly remark, that we have fully anſwered this ob-

jection in the latter part of our anſwer to the ſixth paragraph.

"And as the *fourth* propoſition is merely the Governor's declaration of his *knowledge* of *ſomething* of the ſituation and ſtate of things in America, and what, from ſome *little* occurrences, that have already really happened, he can very eaſily *figure* to himſelf what may and *will* certainly happen, if not prevented in time:—We ſay, that as the Governor has not mentioned what theſe *little* occurrences are, we cannot pretend to judge, whether what he *figures* to himſelf, is any ways relative to the object under conſideration, or, indeed, what elſe it is relative to.

"But as the Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations have thought proper to inſert in their *Report* the above-mentioned letters from General Gage and Governor Wright, it may not be improper for us to give the opinion of his Majeſty's Houſe of Burgeſſes of the dominion of Virginia on the *very point* in queſtion, as conveyed to his Majeſty in their addreſs of the 4th of Auguſt 1767, and delivered

delivered the latter end of that year to the Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations, by Mr. Montague, agent for the colony. The Houſe of Burgeſſes ſay,—' We humbly ' hope, that we ſhall obtain your royal in- ' dulgence, *when we give it as our opinions*, ' that it will be *for your Majeſty's ſervice*, ' *and the intereſt of your American dominions* ' *in general, to continue the encouragements*' (which were a *total exemption from any conſideration-money whatſoever, and a remiſſion of quit-rent for ten years, and of all kinds of taxes for fifteen years*) ' for *ſettling thoſe frontier* ' *lands*.' By this means the Houſe obſerved, ' *New* ſettlements will be made *by people of* ' *property, obedient ſubjects to government*; ' but if the preſent reſtriction ſhould con- ' tinue, we have the ſtrongeſt reaſon to be- ' lieve, *that country will become the reſort of* ' *fugitives and vagabonds, defiers of law and* ' *order, and who in time may form a body* ' *dangerous to the peace and civil government* ' *of this colony*.'

" We come now to the conſideration of the 9th, 10th, and 11th paragraphs.

 " In

" In the 9th, the Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations obſerve, ' That ad-' mitting the ſettlers over the mountains, and ' on the Ohio, to be as numerous as *report* ' ſtates them to be,' (and which we ſhall, from undoubted teſtimony, prove to be not leſs than five thouſand families, of at leaſt ſix perſons to a family, independent of ſome thouſand families which are alſo ſettled *over* the mountains, within the limits of the province of Pennſylvania,) yet their Lordſhips ſay, ' it operates ſtrongly in point of argu-' ment *againſt* what is propoſed.' And their Lordſhips add, ' If the foregoing reaſoning ' has any weight, it ought certainly to induce ' the Lords of the Committee of the Privy ' Council, to *adviſe* his Majeſty to take every ' method *to* CHECK the progreſs of theſe ' ſettlements; and *not* to make ſuch grants of ' the land as will have an immediate ten-' dency to encourage them.'

" Having, we preſume, clearly ſhewn that the country *ſouthward* of the Great Kenhawa, quite to the Cherokee river, belonged to the Six Nations, and *not* to the Cherokees;— that

that *now* it belongs to the King, in virtue of his Majeſty's purchaſe from the Six Nations; —that neither theſe tribes *nor* the Cherokees do hunt between the Great Kenhawa and the land oppoſite the Sioto River;—that, by the preſent boundary line, the Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations would ſacrifice to the *Cherokees* an extent of country of at leaſt eight hundred miles in length, which his Majeſty has bought and paid for;—that the real limits of Virginia do *not* extend weſtward beyond the Allegany mountains;—that ſince the purchaſe of the country from the Six Nations his Majeſty has not annexed it, or any part of it, to the colony of Virginia; —that there are no ſettlements made under *legal titles*, on any part of the lands we have agreed for with the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury;—that in the year 1748, the ſtrongeſt marks of royal encouragement were given to ſettle the country *over* the mountains;—that the *ſuſpenſion* of this encouragement by the proclamation of October 1763, was merely *temporary* until the lands were purchaſed from the natives;—that the avidity to ſettle theſe lands was ſo great, that large ſettlements were

made thereon *before they were purchased*;—that although the settlers were daily exposed to the cruelties of the savages, neither a military force, nor repeated proclamations could induce them to vacate these lands;—that the soil of the country *over* the mountains is excellent, and capable of easily producing *hemp*, *flax*, *silk*, *tobacco*, *iron*, *wine*, &c.;—that these articles can be cheaply conveyed to a sea-port for exportation;—that the charge of carriage is so very small, it cannot possibly operate to the prevention of the use of British manufactures;—that the King's purchasing the lands from the Indians and fixing a *boundary line* with them, was for the very purpose of his subjects settling them;—and that the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations in 1768, declared, that the *inhabitants of the middle colonies* would have liberty for that purpose.——

"And to this train of facts let us add,—that the congress held with the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix in 1768, *when* his Majesty purchased the territory on the Ohio, Messrs. Penn also bought from these nations a very extensive

extenſive tract of country *over* the Allegany mountains, and on that river (*joining* the very lands in queſtion:—That in the ſpring 1769, Meſſrs. Penn opened their *land-office* in Pennſylvania for the *ſettling the country* which they had ſo bought at Fort Stanwix; and all ſuch ſettlers as had ſeated themſelves *over the mountains*, within the limits of Pennſylvania, *before* the lands were purchaſed from the natives, have *ſince* obtained titles for their plantations:—That in 1771, a petition was preſented to the aſſembly of the province of Pennſylvania, praying that a *new* county may be made *over* theſe mountains:—That the legiſlature of that province, in conſideration of the great number of families ſettled *there*, within the limits of that province, did that year enact a law for the *erection* of the lands *over the mountains into a* new county, by the name of *Bedford County*:—That in conſequence of ſuch law, William Thompſon, Eſq. was choſen to repreſent it in the General Aſſembly:—That a ſheriff, coroner, juſtices of the peace, conſtables, and other civil officers, are appointed and do reſide *over* the mountains:—That all the King's ſubjects, who are not

not lefs than five thoufand families, who have made locations and fettlements on the lands *fouthward* of, and adjoining to the *fouthern* line of Pennfylvania, live *there* without any degree of order, law, or government:—That being in this lawlefs fituation, continual quarrels prevail among them:—That they have already infringed the *boundary line*, killed feveral Indians, and encroached on the lands on the oppofite fide of the Ohio; and that diforders of the moft dangerous nature with refpect to the Indians, the *boundary-line*, and the *old colonies*, will foon take place among thefe fettlers, if law and fubordination are not immediately eftablifhed among them. Can thefe facts be poffibly perverted fo as to operate either in point of argument or policy, *againft* the propofition of governing the King's fubjects on the lands in queftion?

"It ought to be confidered alfo, that we have agreed to pay as much for a fmall *part* of the ceffion made at Fort Stanwix, as the *whole* ceffion coft the crown, and at the fame time be at the entire expence of eftablifhing and fupporting the propofed new colony.

"The

"The truth is, the inhabitants ſettled on this tract of country are in ſo ungoverned and lawleſs a ſituation, that the very Indians themſelves complain of it; ſo that, if they are *not* ſoon governed, an Indian war will be the inevitable conſequence. This, we preſume, is evident both from the correſpondence of General Gage with the Earl of Hillſborough, and a ſpeech of the chiefs of the *Delawares*, *Munſies*, and *Mohickons*, living on the Ohio, to the governors of Pennſylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, lately tranſmitted by the General to his Lordſhip.

"In this ſpeech theſe nations obſerve, that ſince the ſale of the lands to the King on the Ohio,—'*Great numbers more of your people* 'have come *over* the great mountains and 'ſettled throughout this country, and we are 'ſorry to tell you, that ſeveral quarrels have 'happened between your people and ours, '*in which people have been killed on both ſides*, 'and that we now ſee the nations round us 'and your people *ready to embroil in a quar-* '*rel*, which gives our nations great concern, 'as we, on *our* parts, want to live in friend- 'ſhip

'ſhip with you. As you have always told 'us *you have laws* to govern your people by, '—but we do not ſee that you have; there-'fore, brethren, *unleſs you can fall upon ſome 'method of governing your people, who live 'between the great mountains and the Ohio 'river, and who are very numerous*, it will 'be out of the Indians' power *to govern* 'their young men; for we aſſure you the 'black clouds begin to gather faſt in this 'country, and *if ſomething is not ſoon done*, 'theſe clouds will deprive us of ſeeing the 'ſun. We deſire you to *give the greateſt at-'tention* to what we now tell you; *as it comes 'from our hearts*, and a deſire we have to live 'in peace and friendſhip with our brethren 'the Engliſh, and therefore it grieves us to 'ſee ſome of the nations about us and your 'people *ready to ſtrike each other*. We find 'your people are very fond of our rich land; '—we ſee them quarrelling with each other 'every day about land, and burning one 'another's houſes, ſo that we do not know 'how ſoon *they may come over the river Ohio*, 'and drive us from our villages; *nor do we 'ſee you, brothers, take any care to ſtop them.*'

"This

"This ſpeech, from tribes of ſuch great influence and weight upon the Ohio, conveys much uſeful information.—It eſtabliſhes the fact of the ſettlers *over* the mountains being *very numerous.*—It ſhews the entire approbation of the Indians, in reſpect to a colony being eſtabliſhed on the Ohio.—It pathetically complains of the King's ſubjects *not* being governed, and it confirms the aſſertion mentioned by the Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations in the eighth paragraph of their Report, 'That if the ſettlers are ſuffered 'to continue in the lawleſs ſtate of anarchy 'and confuſion, they will commit ſuch 'abuſes as cannot fail of involving us in 'quarrels and diſputes with the Indians, *and* '*thereby endanger the ſecurity of his Majeſty's* '*colonies.*'

"The Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations, however, pay no regard to all theſe circumſtances, but content themſelves with obſerving, 'We ſee nothing to hinder 'the government of Virginia from extend'ing the laws and conſtitution of that co'lony to *ſuch perſons as may have already*

'*ſettled there under legal titles.*' To this we *repeat*, that there are *no ſuch* perſons, as have ſettled *under legal titles*; and even admitting there were, as their Lordſhips ſay in the 10th paragraph, 'it *appears to them*, there 'are *ſome poſſeſſions* derived from grants made 'by the Governor and Council of Virgi-'nia;' and allowing that the laws and conſtitution of Virginia *did*—as they unqueſtionably *do not—extend* to this territory, have the Lords Commiſſioners propoſed any expedient for governing thoſe many thouſand families, who have *not* ſettled *under legal tiles*, but only agreeably to the ancient *uſage of location?*—Certainly not.—But, on the contrary, their Lordſhips have recommended, that his Majeſty ſhould be adviſed to take every method *to check* the progreſs of their ſettlements;—and thereby leave them in their preſent lawleſs ſituation, at the riſk of involving the middle colonies in a war with the natives, pregnant with a loſs of commerce, and depopulation of their frontier counties.

"Having made theſe obſervations, it may next be proper to conſider *how* the laws and

'conſti-

conſtitution of Virginia can poſſibly be *extended*, ſo as effectually to operate on the territory in queſtion? Is not Williamſburgh, the capital of Virginia, at leaſt 400 miles from the ſettlements on the Ohio?—Do *not* the laws of Virginia require, that all perſons guilty of capital crimes *ſhall* be tried *only* in Williamſburgh?——Is not the General Aſſembly held there?—Is not the Court of King's-Bench, or the ſuperior Court of the dominion, kept there?—Has Virginia provided any fund for the ſupport of the officers of theſe *diſtant* ſettlements, or for the tranſporting offenders, and paying the expence of witneſſes travelling 800 miles, (*viz.* going and returning,) and during their ſtay at Williamſburgh?—And will not theſe ſettlers be exactly (for the reaſons aſſigned) in the ſituation, deſcribed by Governor Wright in the very letter which the Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations have ſo warmly recommended, viz. 'ſuch perſons as are ſettled at the *back* of the provinces, being at 'a *diſtance* from the *ſeat* of *government*, 'courts, magiſtrates, &c. they will be *out* 'of the *reach* and controul of law and go-

'vernment,

'vernment, and their ſettlement will become a receptacle, and kind of aſylum for 'offenders?'

"On the 11th paragraph we apprehend it is not neceſſary to ſay much.—The reſervatory clauſe propoſed in our Memorial is what is uſual in royal grants; and in the preſent caſe, the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council, we hope, will be of opinion, it is quite ſufficient, more eſpecially as we are able to prove to their Lordſhips, that there are no 'poſſeſſions,' within the boundaries of the lands under conſideration, which are held held '*under legal titles*.'

"To conclude: As it has been demonſtrated, that neither royal nor provincial proclamations,—nor the dread and horrors of a ſavage war,—were ſufficient (even *before* the country was purchaſed from the Indians) to prevent the ſettlement of the lands *over* the mountains—can it be conceived, that, *now* the country is purchaſed, and the people have ſeen the proprietors of Pennſylvania, who are the hereditary ſupporters of *Britiſh policy* in

their own province, give every degree of encouragement to *ſettle* the lands *weſtward* of the mountains,—the legiſlature of the province, at the ſame time, effectually corroborate the meaſure, and ſeveral thouſand families, in conſequence thereof, ſettle in the *new county* of Bedford,—that the inhabitants of the Middle Colonies will *be reſtrained* from cultivating the luxuriant country of the Ohio, joining to the *ſouthern* line of Pennſylvania? But, even admitting that it might formerly have been a queſtion of ſome propriety, whether the country ſhould be permitted to be ſettled;—that cannot ſurely become a ſubject of inquiry now, when it is an obvious and certain truth, *that at leaſt thirty thouſand Britiſh ſubjects are already ſettled there.*—Is it fit to leave ſuch a body of people *lawleſs and ungoverned?*—will ſound policy recommend this manner of colonizing and increaſing the wealth, ſtrength, and commerce of the empire? or will it not point out, that it is the indiſpenſable duty of government to render *bad* ſubjects *uſeful* ſubjects; and for that purpoſe *immediately* to eſtabliſh law and ſubordination among them, and thereby *early* con-

 firm

firm *their* native attachment to the laws, traffic, and cuſtoms of this kingdom?

"On the whole, we preſume that we have, both by facts and ſound argument, ſhewn, that the opinion of the Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations on the object in queſtion, is *not* well founded, and that, if their Lordſhips' opinion ſhould be adopted, it would be attended with the moſt miſchievous and dangerons conſequences to the commerce, peace, and ſafety of his Majeſty's colonies in America:

"We therefore hope, the expediency and utility of erecting the lands agreed for into a ſeparate colony without delay, will be conſidered as a meaſure of the ſoundeſt policy, highly conducive to the peace and ſecurity of the old colonies, to the preſervation of the *boundary line*, and to the commercial intereſts of the mother country."

In the year 1773, the Houſe of Repreſentatives of Maſſachuſetts Bay ſent to Dr. Franklin,

lin, who was their agent in London, a petition to the King, praying his Majeſty to remove from their places, the Governor and Lieutenant Governor of the province [Thomas Hutchinſon and Andrew Oliver.]

This petition was founded on ſome letters written by thoſe gentlemen to Mr. Thomas Whately, who had been Secretary to the Treaſury during Mr. Grenville's adminiſtration. (See an account of them under the article of Mr. Whately, Chapter xix. Page 104 of this Volume.) The King having referred the petition to his Privy Council, to report upon it, they heard counſel upon it on the 29th of January 1774: Mr. Dunning and Mr. John Lee, for the petition, and Mr. Wedderburne, Solicitor General, againſt it. Mr. Wedderburne's ſpeech was an entire invective from beginning to end upon Dr. Franklin. The petition was diſmiſſed as groundleſs and vexatious.

Dr. Franklin told Mr. Lee afterwards, that he was not in the leaſt hurt by Mr. Wedderburne's

burne's ſpeech, but that he was indeed ſincerely ſorry to ſee the Lords of Council behave ſo indecently, manifeſting, in the rudeſt manner, the great pleaſure they received from the Solicitor's ſpeech: that dernier court, he ſaid, before whom all the colony affairs were tried, was not likely to act in a candid and impartial manner, upon any future American queſtion. They ſhewed, he added, that the coarſeſt language can be grateful to the politeſt ears.

In anſwer to a bill in Chancery, filed againſt him on account of theſe letters, he declared upon oath, that he was ignorant of the party to whom they had been addreſſed; and that he had received them from a third perſon for the expreſs purpoſe of conveying them to America.

His letter concerning the duel between Mr. Whately and Mr. Temple, the reader will find in the Appendix, in the article marked M.

He was immediately diſmiſſed from his place of Poſt Maſter General in America.

When the American colonies declared themſelves independent, the Congreſs reſtored him.

From this time the parliamentary proceedings againſt America, have been faithfully and fully related in the Parliamentary Debates, and Parliamentary Regiſter. Finding that the Britiſh Miniſters were reſolved to break with America, he quitted England in the month of April 1775; and arrived in America in the ſucceeding month. On the day after he entered Philadelphia, he was elected by the legiſlature of Pennſylvania, a delegate to the Congreſs.

A few months previous to his leaving England, there was publiſhed a tract on American affairs, intitled, "An Appeal to the Juſtice and Intereſt of the People of Great Britain." It was printed from the manuſcript of Mr. Arthur Lee, an American gentleman at that time in London, and brother to Mr. Alderman Lee, of the city of London. But Dr. Franklin had a conſiderable ſhare in the compoſition; and it might now, with no impropriety, be called Dr. Franklin's farewell

well addreſs. It was the moſt ſenſible and judicious tract on that ſide of the queſtion. Many thouſands of it were circulated.

In the year 1776, Lord Howe was ſent to America to negotiate upon terms of reconciliation, and to continue the war, if the firſt did not ſucceed. The motives of the miniſtry in this meaſure, are amply explained in their ſpeeches in parliament.

When Lord Howe arrived on the coaſt of America, he ſent the following letter to Dr. Franklin, and received the following anſwer:

"Eagle, June 20th, 1776.

"I cannot, my worthy friend, permit the letters and parcels which I have ſent you in the ſtate I received them, to be landed, without adding a word upon the ſubject of the injurious extremities in which our unhappy diſputes have engaged us.

"You will learn the nature of my miſſion from the official diſpatches which I have recommended to be forwarded by the ſame conveyance.

veyance. Retaining all the earneſtneſs I ever expreſſed, to ſee our differences accommodated, I ſhall conceive, if I meet with the diſpoſition in the colonies which I was once taught to expect, the moſt flattering hopes of proving ſerviceable, in the objects of the King's paternal ſolicitude, by promoting the eſtabliſhment of laſting peace and union with the colonies. But if the deep-rooted prejudices of America, and the neceſſity of preventing her trade from paſſing into foreign channels, muſt keep us ſtill a divided people, I ſhall, from every private, as well as public motive, moſt heartily lament that it is not the moment wherein thoſe great objects of my ambition are to be attained; and that I am to be longer deprived of an opportunity to aſſure you perſonally of the regard with which I am,

"Your ſincere and faithful humble ſervant,

"HOWE.

"P. S. I was diſappointed of the opportunity I expected for ſending this letter at the time it was dated, and have been ever ſince prevented, by calms and contrary winds, from

from getting here to inform General Howe of the commiſſion with which I have the ſatisfaction to be charged, and of his being joined in it.

"*Off Sandy Hook, 12th July.*

"Superſcribed

"*To Benjamin Franklin, Eſq. Philadelphia.*"

"Philadelphia, July 30, 1776.

"I received ſafe the letters your Lordſhip ſo kindly forwarded to me, and beg you to accept my thanks.

"The official diſpatches to which you refer me contain nothing more than what we had ſeen in the act of parliament, *viz.* Offers of pardon upon ſubmiſſion; which I was ſorry to find, as it muſt give your Lordſhip pain to be ſent ſo far on ſo hopeleſs a buſineſs.

"Directing pardons to be offered to the colonies who are the very parties injured, expreſſes indeed that opinion of our ignorance, baſeneſs, and inſenſibility, which your uninformed and proud nation has long been pleaſed

to

to entertain of us; but it can have no other effect than that of increasing our resentments. It is impossible we should think of submission to a government that has, with the most wanton barbarity and cruelty, burnt our defenceless towns, in the midst of winter; excited the savages to massacre our peaceful farmers, and our slaves to murder their masters; and is even now bringing foreign mercenaries to deluge our settlements with blood. These atrocious injuries have extinguished every spark of affection for that parent country we once held so dear: but were it possible for us to forget and forgive them, it is not possible for you, I mean the British nation, to forgive the people you have so heavily injured: you can never confide again in those as fellow-subjects, and permit them to enjoy equal freedom, to whom, you know, you have given such just causes of lasting enmity; and this must impel you, were we again under your government, to endeavour the breaking our spirit by the severest tyranny, and obstructing, by every means in your power, our growing strength and prosperity.

"But your Lordſhip mentions, 'the 'King's paternal ſolicitude for promoting 'the eſtabliſhment of laſting peace and union 'with the colonies.' If by peace is here meant a peace to be entered into by diſtinct ſtates, now at war, and his Majeſty has given your Lordſhip power to treat with us, of ſuch a peace, I may venture to ſay, though without authority, that I think a treaty for that purpoſe not quite impracticable, before we enter into foreign alliances: but I am perſuaded you have no ſuch powers. Your nation, though, by puniſhing thoſe American governors who have fomented the diſcord, rebuilding our burnt towns, and repairing, as far as poſſible, the miſchiefs done us, ſhe might recover a great ſhare of our regard, and the greateſt ſhare of our growing commerce, with all the advantages of that additional ſtrength to be derived from a friendſhip with us; yet I know too well her abounding pride, and deficient wiſdom, to believe ſhe will ever take ſuch ſalutary meaſures. Her fondneſs for conqueſt, as a warlike nation; her luſt of dominion, as an ambitious one; and her thirſt for a gainful monopoly, as a commercial one, (none of them

them legitimate cauſes of war) will all join to hide from her eyes every view of her true intereſt, and will continually goad her on, in theſe ruinous, diſtant expeditions, ſo deſtructive both of lives and of treaſure, that they muſt prove as pernicious to her in the end as the Croiſades formerly were to moſt of the nations in Europe.

"I have not vanity, my Lord, to think of intimidating, by thus predicting the effects of this war; for I know it will in England have the fate of all my former predictions, not to be believed, till the event ſhall verify it.

"Long did I endeavour with unfeigned and unwearied zeal, to preſerve from breaking, that fine and noble china vaſe—the Britiſh empire; for I know, that being once broken, the ſeparate parts could not retain even their ſhares of the ſtrength and value that exiſted in the whole; and that a perfect re-union of theſe parts could ſcarce ever be hoped for. Your Lordſhip may poſſibly remember the tears of joy that wet my cheek, when at your good ſiſter's in London, you once

once gave me expectations that a reconciliation might ſoon take place. I had the misfortune to find theſe expectations diſappointed, and to be treated as the cauſe of the miſchief I was labouring to prevent. My conſolation under that groundleſs and malevolent treatment, was, that I retained the friendſhip of many wiſe and good men in that country, and among the reſt, ſome ſhare in the regard of Lord Howe.

"The well-founded eſteem, and permit me to ſay, affection, which I ſhall always have for your Lordſhip, make it painful for me to ſee you engaged in conducting a war, the great ground of which, as deſcribed in your letter, is 'the neceſſity of preventing the 'American trade from paſſing into foreign 'channels.' To me it ſeems that neither the obtaining nor retaining any trade, how valuable ſoever, is an object for which men may juſtly ſpil each other's blood: that the true and ſure means of extending and ſecuring commerce, are the goodneſs and cheapneſs of commodities; and that the profits of no trade can ever be equal to the expence of compelling

compelling it, and holding it by fleets and armies. I conſider this war againſt us, therefore, as both unjuſt and unwiſe; and I am perſuaded that cool and diſpaſſionate poſterity will condemn to infamy thoſe who adviſed it; and that even ſucceſs will not ſave from ſome degree of diſhonour thoſe who have voluntarily engaged to conduct it.

"I know your great motive in coming hither was the hope of being inſtrumental in a reconciliation; and believe, when you find that to be impoſſible, on any terms given you to propoſe, you will relinquiſh ſo odious a command, and return to a more honourable private ſtation.

"With the greateſt and moſt ſincere reſpect, I have the honour to be, my Lord,

"Your Lordſhip's

"Moſt obedient, humble ſervant,

"B. Franklin.

"Directed

"*To the Right Hon. Lord Viſ. Howe.*"

On

On the 4th day of July 1776, the North American colonies, by their delegates in Congreſs, declared themſelves to be "Free and Independent States." The ſeveral colonies now become ſovereign ſtates, immediately formed conſtitutions for their diſtinct governments. That of Pennſylvania was compoſed by Dr. Franklin, and is highly eſteemed, as a fine ſyſtem of legiſlation and juriſprudence.

The firſt ſtep of the Congreſs, after the declaration of independence, was ſending Mr. Silas Deane to France, to requeſt permiſſion of the French miniſtry, to purchaſe in France, arms and military ſtores for an army. From the reception that Deane met with, the Congreſs were convinced that France looked upon their cauſe with a very favourable eye: and upon this, they appointed Dr. Franklin their miniſter at Paris, with full power. A ſhip mounting thirty-ſix guns was equipped on purpoſe to carry him. He left Philadelphia on the 27th of October, and arrived at Nantz on the 13th of December 1776.

1776. The ſhip he ſailed in took two Engliſh veſſels in her voyage, and carried them into Nantz, where they were ſold for the benefit of the captors.

The public fact of Dr. Franklin's arrival in France, and the fact of the French miniſtry permitting theſe prizes to be ſold in a French port, were irrefragable and indiſputable proofs of hoſtility to Great Britain; and ought to have been conſidered and treated as ſuch. But the miniſters of Great Britain were afraid of a war with France; and France not being prepared for war, choſe to temporize. Dr. Franklin was honoured privately with all the countenance he could expect.

The Americans having at this time (April 1777) a conſiderable number of Britiſh ſoldiers and ſailors priſoners in their hands, Dr. Franklin applied by letter to Lord Stormont, the Britiſh miniſter at Paris, upon the ſubject of exchanging them for the like number of Americans, priſoners in England. Lord Stormont's anſwer was in the true ſpirit

of

of his Court; it was in these words, "The King's Ambassador receives no applications from rebels, unless they come to implore his Majesty's mercy." In six months afterwards, General Burgoyne and his whole army surrendered.

In the interim, between the time of making the application to Lord Stormont, and the surrender of General Burgoyne, Dr. Franklin's pointed electrical conductors at Buckingham-house were taken down; and Mr. Wilson's blunted conductors were put up in their stead. When the celebrated American Orrery was destroyed by the troops under Sir William Howe, Dr. Franklin said, "they ought not to make war on the sciences."

Two months after the surrender of General Burgoyne, the French entered into an alliance with the Americans, offensive and defensive. When this measure had taken place, the British ministry made several attempts to open a negotiation with Dr. Franklin, but they were

were too late. Mr. Pulteney, Mr. Conway, Mr. Hutton, and other gentlemen were ſent to Paris for this purpoſe, but in vain.

Mr. Silas Deane and Dr. Bancroft, who was ſecretary to the American embaſſy at Paris, were accuſed of gambling in the Engliſh funds. Bancroft was diſmiſſed: and though Dr. Franklin interpoſed in behalf of Deane, and made himſelf ſome enemies in America by it, yet he could not prevent Deane being recalled. This was very different from the conduct ſhewn to America, by perſons in office, in London. The Congreſs dollars were forged in London, in immenſe quantities, and ſent at different times to New York, Charleſtown, and other places, with a view of depreciating and deſtroying the credit of the real dollars.

The attempt to negotiate with Lord Stormont, for an exchange of priſoners, having failed, towards the end of the year 1777 Dr. Franklin ſent a Mr. Thornton, an American gentleman, to London, with an application to Lord North upon the ſubject.

 Mr.

Mr. Thornton waited firſt upon Mr. Hartley, who, at Dr. Franklin's requeſt, attended Mr. Thornton to Lord North. This was on the 18th day of December, in the evening. Lord North received him very civilly. Mr. Thornton opened his buſineſs; but did not deliver a letter he was charged with from Dr. Franklin to Lord North. The converſation was nothing but ceremony, and an aſſurance to Mr. Thornton of perſonal ſafety.

On the 19th, in the morning, Mr. Thornton alone waited upon Lord North, and delivered to him Dr. Franklin's letter. Nothing but civility again; and a promiſe that he ſhould have an anſwer as ſoon as the other ſervants of the Crown could be conſulted.

Several days paſſed, and he received no anſwer. The miniſters differed with each other upon it. Lord Suffolk and Lord Mansfield were for maintaining the high anſwer given by Lord Stormont at Paris. Lord North and Lord George Germain were for an exchange of priſoners.

 At

At length Mr. Thornton wrote to Lord North that it was a part of his inſtructions to ſee the priſoners, and therefore that he would go to Portſmouth and other places where they were confined, for that purpoſe.

On the 30th, he returned to London: ſtill no anſwer was ready. On the 2d day of January he ſet out on his return to Paris. Next day an anſwer was ſent to Mr. Hartley, ſtating, that miniſters intended, as opportunity ſhall offer, to exchange them in America, againſt Britiſh priſoners there.

At the end of the month of March 1782, the Britiſh miniſtry were changed. In this change Mr. Fox was made Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Before he was warm in his ſeat, he gave a proof of his political ſagacity, which none have exceeded—perhaps few have equalled. This was his open and manly communication to the Dutch. He took up the conſideration of the war in Europe, upon a juſt principle. He began with Holland, and thereby prevented a continental war. He immediately ſeparated the Dutch

Dutch from the Confederacy that had been formed againſt Great Britain. There was no longer any idea of joining the Dutch fleet to the combined fleet of France and Spain. The conſequence of this disjunction was the relief of Gibraltar, which was cloſely beſieged by the united forces of France and Spain. If the Dutch fleet had joined the combined fleet, which was intended, and there was nothing at that time to prevent it, Gibraltar could not have been relieved: with the addition of the Dutch navy againſt us, Gibraltar muſt have fallen. The Britiſh fleet at that time was not equal to the three maritime powers; Spain, France, and Holland. If Gibraltar had been taken, the conditions of peace muſt have been leſs honourable. The dates will ſhew the fact is indiſputable. The reſolution of the States General, "To requeſt his Serene Highneſs, in his ſtation of admiral-general of the Union, to concert in the moſt convenient manner with the court of France, a plan for the naval operations of the next campaign, ſo as to annoy the common enemy, in the moſt ſenſible manner," is dated on the 20th day

 of

of February 1782. Mr. Fox was appointed Secretary of State on the 27th day of March following: and his letter to M. Simolin, containing his offers to the Dutch, is dated on the 29th day of that month; being the second day after he had been in office. This is as ſtrong an inſtance of ſagacity and penetration as will be found in the conduct of any former miniſter.

In the month of November following, Dr. Franklin ſigned at Paris the proviſional articles of peace between Great Britain and America. And in the month of September 1783, he ſigned the definitive treaty, with Mr. Hartley.

He alſo negotiated, and ſigned, commercial treaties between Sweden and America, and between Pruſſia and America.

The tranquillity and independence of America being perfectly eſtabliſhed, he requeſted to be recalled from the fatigues of his embaſſy; which was complied with.

Animal magnetiſm being a ſubject of much converſation in Paris at this time, the King appointed

appointed Commiſſioners to examine into the foundation of this pretended ſcience. Dr. Franklin was one of them. He preſently diſcovered the whole to be a mere trick; and as ſuch he reported it; which put an end to the impoſition.

In the month of September 1785, he arrived once more in America. He amuſed himſelf occaſionally with philoſophical reſearches, and experiments. It is not within the deſign of this work, to give an account of Dr. Franklin's philoſophical theories and ſyſtems. The reader will find them in his Works. This is a ſketch of the political part of his life, which is not in his works.

In the year 1787, a convention of the United States was aſſembled at Philadelphia. Dr. Franklin was appointed a delegate for the State of Pennſylvania. The purpoſe was to reviſe and amend the articles of Confederation, in order to give more ſtrength and energy to the government of the Union. He ſigned the new Conſtitution, and gave it his moſt hearty approbation.

 In

In the ſame year he eſtabliſhed two ſocieties at Philadelphia; one for alleviating the miſeries of public priſons, the other for promoting the abolition of the Slave Trade.

In the year 1788, his infirmities increaſing, which were of the calculous kind, he retired from all public buſineſs. During the laſt twelve months of his life, he was principally confined to his bed. He died on the 17th day of April 1790, at the age of 84 years and three months.

The following is a tranſlation from the *Journale de Phyſique*, for the month of June 1790.

" Franklin died in the month of April laſt, of an abſceſs in his breaſt. This great man preſerved his uſual preſence of mind almoſt to his laſt moments. Perſons public and private, of every rank and quality, attended his funeral, and probably there was never ſo great a concourſe in America on any occaſion. What an intereſting ſpectacle was this, of a whole people bewailing their benefactor! The

The Congreſs, and various corporations, put on mourning for him during a month. The National Aſſembly of France, and a great number of other philanthropiſts, mourned for him three days. It is perhaps the firſt time that nations have mourned for a friend of humanity; whilſt, to the diſgrace of reaſon, we have ſeen them mourn for months together for its oppreſſors. All the nations of Europe are ſo ſubmiſſive to the yoke, that they eſteem it an honour and a duty to wear for ſeveral months mourning for one of their tyrants; whilſt his death ought to be eſteemed, and really is, a public felicity: ſuch were the deaths of Louis the XIV. Louis the XV. Joſeph II. &c. It is to be hoped that Philoſophy will, in time, reform theſe abuſes."

CHAPTER XXVI.

Messieurs BURKES.

Four of them. All Literary Men. Fugitive Papers. Series of Letters ſigned Valens. Anſwer to Lord Bath's Pamphlet. Anſwer to Dr. Franklin's Pamphlet. Importance of Guadaloupe. Lord Chatham of Mr. Burke's Opinion, but over-ruled. Value and Importance of the Weſt-Indies. African Trade. Petition and Reſolutions of the Yorkſhire Committee. Mr. Burke's Letter on the Subject of them to the Buckinghamſhire Committee. Several Particulars.

THERE were four of theſe gentlemen—The Right Honourable Edmund Burke; Mr. Richard Burke, his ſon, of whom nothing more need be ſaid, than that he wrote an anſwer to an Eſſay or Letter written by Major Cartwright, which the reader will find in the Appendix near the end of the article marked

marked C; Mr. Richard Burke, brother to Mr. Edmund Burke, and Recorder of Briſtol; Mr. William Burke, couſin to Mr. Edmund Burke, who was Secretary to General Conway while that gentleman was Secretary of State, and ſeveral years Pay-maſter in India.

The laſt mentioned gentleman has written ſeveral tracts; and it is more than probable, that he was frequently aſſiſted by his couſin; and upon ſome occaſions, there is no doubt, they were all three concerned; for they lived upon the terms of the moſt ſincere friendſhip and affection. And although it is unqueſtionably true, that the talents of Mr. Edmund Burke had infinitely the aſcendancy, yet thoſe of Mr. Richard Burke, and of Mr. William Burke, were greatly above mediocrity.

An aſſociation of ſuch literary abilities, and active minds, muſt undoubtedly have produced many papers, which are now unknown; particularly their occaſional Eſſays, or Letters, in the newſpapers; which they were in the habit of furniſhing during ſeveral

years.

years. Many of these are interesting, as containing the sense of parties, from the year 1764, or thereabouts. There were several in reply to the series of papers written by Mr. Scott of Cambridge, distinguished by the signature of Anti-Sejanus. If their friends have a correct knowledge of them, they would do well to collect them. There was a series of papers written by them, published in the London Evening Post, at the beginning of the American war, signed VALENS, from which some extracts have been made, which the reader will find in the Appendix, marked F, G, and O. They were ascribed principally to Mr. Richard Burke; but Mr. William Burke materially assisted, and Mr. Edmund Burke occasionally contributed.

When the late Earl of Bath published his pamphlet called "A Letter to Two Great Men," (Lord Chatham and the Duke of Newcastle,) upon the prospect of peace, in the year 1759, Mr. William Burke has always been said, and believed, to have been the Author of the answer to it, intitled "Remarks on the Letter to Two Great Men."

Men." Lord Bath having ſtrongly recommended, in his pamphlet, the *retention* of Canada in the expected negotiations for peace; and aſſerted, that a preference ſhould be given to Canada over Guadaloupe, or any conqueſts made in the Weſt-Indies; Mr. Burke was of a contrary opinion, and argued ſtrongly in favour of Guadaloupe.

Mr. Burke's pamphlet had ſufficient merit to attract, and alarm the attention of Dr. Franklin; he therefore wrote an anſwer to it; which he intitled "The Intereſt of Great Britain conſidered, with regard to her Colonies, and the Acquiſitions of Canada and Guadaloupe;" in which he coincided with, and enforced the opinion of Lord Bath.

Mr. Burke, though a young man, was not vanquiſhed by his formidable opponent. He continued the conteſt by another pamphlet, which he intitled "An Examination of the Commercial Principles of the late Negotiation between Great Britain and France in 1761: in which the Syſtem of that Negotiation with regard to our Colonies and Commerce is conſidered."

ſidered." This was publiſhed upon the failure of the negotiation between the late Lord Chatham and Mr. Buſſy, in the year 1761.

As it is probable that Mr. Burke's argument may hereafter be uſeful, the reader will not be diſpleaſed with the following extract from it.

"The late negotiation, (he ſays,) ſo far as it regarded our colonies and commerce, was on our ſide conducted, I apprehend, on one ſingle idea, viz. to ſecure to ourſelves the poſſeſſion of all Canada. I ſay, upon this ſingle idea, becauſe from a careful examination of the ſeveral plans delivered to the French miniſter it appears, that even an attempt was not made, to procure in America any other poſſeſſion, or any other advantage whatſoever. Our intereſt, and our conqueſts in the Weſt-Indies, were very little, if at all, regarded. On the opening of the treaty we agreed to negotiate away Guadaloupe and Marigalante; and in the turns which that treaty took, and in all the different ſchemes of

of commutation, which were from time to time proposed, and they were many and various, I do not find that it was for a moment the idea to retain that acquisition we had made in the West-Indies, which the very article that restores it to France, denominates a fertile and wealthy island; [His Majesty likewise agrees to surrender to the most Christian King the *opulent* island of Guadaloupe, with that of Marigalante;] and which the very great increase of our trade since its reduction, demonstrates not to have been at all over-rated in those epithets, however it might be under-valued in the exchange by which it was to have been surrendered.

" The reader will not entertain any doubt, that the treaty was conducted on a principle wholly averse to West-Indian acquisition, when he recollects this remarkable fact.

" Early in the negotiation, and as I may say at the out-set, we agreed to exchange Guadaloupe for Minorca; but during the progress of that transaction, Belleisle fell into our hands. Here was presented a new subject

ject for exchange. It was quite natural to barter one European iſland for another; and it became the more natural, as one was of no great advantage to England, nor the other to France; and both were heavily expenſive to their reſpective poſſeſſors. Accordingly, we find that exchange was propoſed; but what is very ſingular, even at the time of making that propoſal, it does not appear that any advantage was taken from this circumſtance, to retain the leaſt particle of our Weſt-Indian conqueſts. The original ſcheme of compenſation was changed; Belleiſle was offered (ſo the French underſtood it) for Minorca; but Guadaloupe, the old equivalent, was, notwithſtanding this new project, to have been ſurrendered; though not in exchange for Minorca, nor for any thing elſe that I can diſcover; and therefore, without any diſtinct compenſation at all."

[Here the Editor begs leave to ſolicit the reader's permiſſion to ſhew that Mr. Burke is in this point miſtaken. We have Lord Chatham's own authority for the fact. In his ſpeech in the Houſe of Commons, when Mr. Pitt, on the 29th of November 1762, he

he ſays, "He had been blamed for conſenting to give up Guadaloupe. That ceſſion had been a queſtion in another place. (*The cabinet.*) He wiſhed to have *kept* the iſland. He had been *over-ruled* in that point. He could not help it. He had been over-ruled many times, and upon many oc-occaſions. He had acquieſced; he had ſubmitted; but at length he ſaw, that all his meaſures, all his ſentiments, were inimical to the views of thoſe perſons to whom his Majeſty had given his confidence." No one will doubt, that Mr. Burke's arguments were well-founded. But as Lord Chatham was the negotiator, in the negotiation Mr. Burke is ſpeaking of, it is neceſſary to accompany the paſſage in Mr. Burke's pamphlet, with this declaration of Lord Chatham; otherwiſe, Mr. Burke's ſtatement would ſeem to impeach the rectitude and wiſdom of that great Miniſter. But when Mr. Burke wrote his pamphlet, he could not be acquainted with the *real* fact; for it was not known, until Lord Chatham himſelf made it known.] We will continue the extract from Mr. Burke, becauſe it is not unintereſting. The pamphlets of the day ſpeak the ſenſe of men in a

better

better manner than almoſt any future writer will take the trouble to repreſent them.

"Here alſo a difficulty occurs; for it is not eaſy to diſcover for what reaſon Belleiſle was taken, if it was not to be admitted among the equivalents. The expedition for the reduction of this iſland was undertaken after the commencement of the negotiation; and the place could ſcarcely be deſired for any other purpoſe than to give us ſome advantage in that negotiation; and yet a few days after we had taken Belleiſle, its negotionable value was eſtimated at nothing; and, in all appearance, we ſuffered it to be added to Guadaloupe, in compenſation for an object which had been before offered us for Guadaloupe alone.

"Had it indeed been neceſſary, by the ſurrender of the fertile iſland of Guadaloupe, to purchaſe the vaſt but unprofitable foreſts of Canada, the paſſion at leaſt of boundleſs empire would have been flattered. There had perhaps been ſomething magnificent in ſuch a deluſion. But from the beginning

there was no mention of an exchange of that nature. The firſt overtures to the treaty declare, that the privilege of the fiſhery at Newfoundland was the compenſation for Canada."

[The words in the hiſtorical memorial of this negotiation are, " the liberty of fiſhing, and the ſhelter without fortifications, was the compenſation for the ceſſion of all Canada:" The " reſtitution of the iſland of Minorca, was certainly equivalent to the ceſſion of Guadaloupe and Marigalante." See the Hiſtorical Memorial, in the Appendix to the Anecdotes of Lord Chatham's Life.]

" The fundamental principle upon which all ideas of Weſt Indian acquiſition have been rejected, is a maxim laid down by the writer of the Letter to two Great Men, *that we had already ſugar-land enough.*

" There is no word whatſoever of greater latitude in the conſtruction, when it is referred to private concerns, than this word *enough.* With regard to the public, it is often con-

tracted within very reasonable limits. Does it here mean that we have sugar-land sufficient to supply the home consumption? It is not strictly true, that we have enough for the consumption of all the British dominions. We know that in Ireland they use some, and in North America a very great quantity of foreign sugars, and syrups, and we have reason to believe that some find their way even into England. If he means that we have enough for foreign consumption, he is mistaken. Before the war we had almost lost the foreign market for this commodity. And unless he can prove that the sugar commerce is detrimental, I conceive this assertion equivalent to a declaration, that we have foreign trade enough. A declaration however repugnant to fact, and to the national interests, is altogether consistent with the system laid down in that letter."

Of the value and importance of the West Indies, Mr. Burke speaks thus:

"The direct import of Great Britain alone from the West Indies, in the year 1759,

a year ſubject to the loſſes and caſualties of war, and excluſive of Guadaloupe, which was then but juſt conquered, amounted to no leſs than 1,833,648 *l.* whereas the import from the great and populous northern colonies of New England, New York, and Pennſylvania, amounted but to 70,074 *l.* and the whole North American import together amounted to little more than a third of the Weſt Indian.

" With regard to our dominions in Europe, there is ſcarce an article of Britiſh produce, which is not largely conſumed in the Weſt Indies. The benefit of the Weſt Indian trade to our European dominions is not confined to Great Britain. Our iſland colonies, and they alone, take off a great quantity of proviſions from Ireland; a conſideration of no trivial conſequence, not only from the connection of intereſt by which that trade binds together the ſeveral parts of our empire, but alſo becauſe, whatever proviſions go to our own colonies are ſo much taken from the markets of our dangerous rivals, and moſt determined enemies.

" Another

"Another consideration, and a very weighty one, is, that almost the whole of that extensive and lucrative trade which we carry on with the coast of Africa, is maintained by, and must be put to the account of the West Indies, because the West India islands form the great markets for negroe slaves.

"The trade to Africa is of the best kind. It is for the greatest part fed with our own manufactures; our fire-arms, our ammunition, our utensils, our stuffs, and our spirits, of all which we exported in the year 1761 to the value of 254,381 *l.* What remains of the assortment for that market is composed entirely of East India goods, of which, in the same year, it took off 78,576 *l.*

"Thus the West Indies sustain, not only a large share of the direct English trade, but also contribute very considerably to the support of that mighty pillar of our national commerce and credit, the East India Company. I must beg leave to repeat it, and to fix it in the reader's memory, that the African trade centers in, and is supported by the West

West Indies; and that this trade, with its consequential advantages, is the principal dependence of the two, after London, the greatest and most flourishing trading places in Great Britain, Bristol, and Liverpool."

[Liverpool has now the principal share of the African trade.]

The calamities of the American war, and the acquiescence of Parliament in support of it, caused a general alarm throughout the nation towards the close of the year 1779. The extensive and very opulent county of York set an example of presenting petitions on public grievances, and of forming a general association, to give effect to the petitions. This example was followed by many of the counties and great towns in the kingdom.

Upon the subject of the Yorkshire meeting, Messieurs Burkes wrote a small tract, intitled, "The Yorkshire Question," &c. which the reader will find in the Appendix, marked R. It is not certain which of the Burkes is the author,—

author,—probably it is the production of the three.

The committee appointed at the Yorkshire meeting, agreed to a second petition in support of the first. A copy of the first petition the reader will find annexed to the "Yorkshire Question" in the Appendix. The following is a copy of the second petition; and of the resolutions which accompanied it.

"*To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled.*

"The humble Petition of the Freeholders of the County of York,

"Sheweth,

"That your Petitioners, sensible of the original excellency of the constitution of this country, most ardently wish to have it maintained upon the genuine principles on which it was founded.

"Your Petitioners further shew, That it is necessary to the welfare of the people, that the Commons' House of Parliament should have a common interest with the nation;

nation; and that in the preſent ſtate of the repreſentation of the people in Parliament, the Houſe of Commons do not ſufficiently ſpeak the voice of the people.

"Your Petitioners therefore humbly pray this Honourable Houſe to take into their moſt ſerious conſideration, the preſent inadequate ſtate of the repreſentation of the people in Parliament, and to apply ſuch remedy to this great and alarming evil, as to this Honourable Houſe may ſeem meet.

"And your Petitioners ſhall ever pray, &c."

The ſeveral motions following were afterwards ſucceſſively made and ſeconded; and the queſtion being put upon each, it was

"Reſolved unanimouſly, That this meeting having adopted a petition, requeſting a reformation of Parliament in general terms, and being apprehenſive, that from the generality of the petition, the intention of this meeting may be miſconſtrued, as aiming at a reformation of Parliament on principles and

to an extent which they do not mean to recommend, doth find it neceſſary to declare that if,

"1. A bill ſhall be paſſed in Parliament for aboliſhing at leaſt fifty of the moſt obnoxious boroughs, providing for the electors in the ſeveral boroughs aboliſhed a proper gratuitous compenſation for their extinguiſhed franchiſes; and enabling them to vote, together with other freeholders, in elections for knights of the reſpective ſhires to which they belong; and alſo adding an adequate number of members, not leſs than an hundred, in due proportion to the ſeveral counties and the metropolis:

"2. And if the Septennial bill ſhall be repealed:

"3. And if a bill ſhall be paſſed for admitting proprietors of copyhold lands of inheritance, with fine certain, of the clear yearly value of forty ſhillings, to vote at county elections of members of Parliament throughout the kingdom:

"4. And

"4. And laſtly, if a bill ſhall be paſſed for ſetting aſide nominal and fictitious votes in Scotland, and for regulating elections to Parliament in that part of the kingdom, in a manner agreeable to the true intent and ſpirit of the conſtitution:

"The correction of parliamentary abuſes, effected by thoſe meaſures, will eſtabliſh a reformation of Parliament which this county would highly approve.

"Reſolved unanimouſly, That this meeting, truſting in the experienced zeal of their repreſentatives, Sir George Savile, and Henry Duncombe Eſq. as far as circumſtances will allow to promote the reaſonable wiſhes of their conſtituents to accompliſh a ſubſtantial reformation of Parliament as aforeſaid, and to ſupport farther meaſures of ſtrict frugality, ſo indiſpenſably neceſſary in the preſent condition of this country, doth poſtpone offering to their worthy repreſentatives any inſtructions on the ſaid matters."

This

This petition and these resolutions drew from Mr. Burke a strong letter upon the subject of them.

From Mr. Burke's pamphlet, called "Thoughts on the Cause of the present Discontents," it was known that he was hostile to a reformation of Parliament; but when some of the members of the committee of the county of Buckingham (being the county in which Mr. Burke resided) were known to have in contemplation an adoption of the conduct of the Yorkshire committee, and to recommend it to the second general meeting of the county, to be held in the month of May 1780; Mr. Burke wrote the following letter to a member of the committee; in which Mr. Burke states more explicitly than he has done any where else, his opinion upon the subject of Parliamentary reform.

(Copy.)

"Sir,

"Having yesterday heard, by mere accident, that there is an intention of laying before the county meeting, new matter which is not contained

contained in our petition, and the consideration of which had been deferred to a fitter time by a majority of our committee in London; permit me to take this method of submitting to you my reasons for thinking with our committee, that nothing ought to be hastily determined upon the subject.

"Our petition arose naturally from distresses which we *felt*; and the requests which we made, were, in effect, nothing more than that such things should be done in Parliament, as it was evidently the duty of Parliament to do. But the affair which will be proposed to you by a person of rank and ability, (Earl Stanhope, then Lord Mahon,) is an alteration in the constitution of Parliament itself. It is impossible for you to have a subject before you of more importance, and that requires a more cool and mature consideration; both on its own account, and for the credit of our sobriety of mind, who are to resolve upon it.

"The country will, in some way or other, be called upon to declare it your opinion, that

that the Houſe of Commons is not ſufficiently numerous, and that the elections are not ſufficiently frequent: that an hundred new knights of the ſhire ought to be added; and that we are to have a new election, once in three years for certain, and as much oftener as the King pleaſes. Such will be the ſtate of things, if the propoſitions made ſhall take effect.

"All this may be proper; but as an honeſt man, I cannot poſſibly give my vote for it, until I have conſidered it more fully. I will not deny, that our conſtitution may have faults, and that thoſe faults, when found, ought to be corrected. It is not every thing which appears at firſt view to be fatulty, in ſuch a very complicated plan as our conſtitution, that is to be determined to be ſo in reality. To enable us to correct the conſtitution, the whole conſtitution muſt be viewed together, and it muſt be compared with the actual ſtate of the people, and the circumſtances of the time. For that, which taken ſingly and by itſelf may appear to be wrong, when conſidered with relation to other things may

may be perfectly right, or at least such as ought to be patiently endured, as the means of preventing something that is much worse. So far with regard to what, at first view, may appear a *distemper* in the constitution. As to the *remedy* of that distemper, an equal caution ought to be used; because this latter consideration is not single and separate, no more than the former. There are many things in reformation, which would be proper to be done if other things can be done along with them, but which, if they cannot be so accompanied, ought not to be done at all. I therefore wish, when any new matter of this deep nature is proposed to me, to have the whole scheme distinctly in my view, and full time to consider of it. Please God I will walk with caution whenever I am not able clearly to see my way before me.

"I am now growing old; I have from my very early youth been conversant in reading and thinking upon the subjects of our laws and constitution, as well as upon those of other times and other countries. I have been for fifteen years a very laborious member

ber of Parliament, and in that time have had great opportunities of feeing with my own eyes the working of the machine of our government; of remarking where it went fmoothly, and did its bufinefs, and where it checked in its movements; or where it damaged its work. I have alfo had, and ufed the opportunities of converfing with men of the greateft wifdom and fulleft experience in thefe matters; and I do declare to you moft folemnly, and moft truly, that on the refult of all this reading, thinking, experience, and communication, I am not able to come to an immediate refolution in favour of a change in the ground-work of our conftitution; and in particular, that in the prefent ftate of the country, in the prefent ftate of our reprefentation, in the prefent ftate of our rights and modes of electing, in the prefent ftate of the feveral prevalent interefts, in the prefent ftate of the affairs and manners of this country, I am not able to vote that the addition of an hundred knights of the fhire, and the hurrying of election on election, will be things advantageous either to liberty or to good government.

"This

" This is the present condition of my mind, and this is my apology for not going as fast as others may choose to go in this business. I do not by any means reject the propositions, much less do I condemn the gentlemen, who with equal good intentions, with much better abilities, and with infinitely greater personal weight and consideration than mine, are of opinion that this matter ought to be decided upon instantly.

" I most heartily wish that the deliberate sense of the kingdom on this great subject should be known. When it is known it must be prevalent. It would be dreadful indeed if there were any power in the nation capable of resisting its unanimous desire, or even the desire of any very great and decided majority of the people. The people may be deceived in their choice of an object, but I can scarcely conceive any choice they can make to be so very mischievous, as the existence of any human force capable of resisting it. It will certainly be the duty of every man in the situation to which God has called him, to give his best opinion and advice upon the matter;

matter; it will *not* be his duty (let him think what he will) to uſe any violent or fraudulent means of counteracting the general wiſh, or even of employing the *legal and conſtructive* organ of expreſſing the people's ſenſe againſt the ſenſe which they do *actually* entertain.

"In order that the real ſenſe of the people ſhould be known upon ſo great an affair as this, it is of abſolute neceſſity, that *timely* notice ſhould be given, that the matter ſhould be prepared in *open* committees; from a choice into which *no claſs or deſcription of men* is to be excluded, and the ſubſequent county meetings ſhould be as *full*, and as well attended as poſſible. Without theſe precautions, the true ſenſe of the people will ever be uncertain. Sure I am, that no precipitate reſolution on a great change in the fundamental conſtitution of any country, can ever be called the real ſenſe of the people.

"I truſt it will not be taken amiſs, if, as an inhabitant and freeholder of this county, one

indeed among the moſt inconſiderable, I aſſert my right of diſſenting (as I do diſſent fully and directly) from any reſolution whatſoever, on the ſubject of an alteration in the repreſentation and election of the kingdom at this time. By preſerving this right, and exerciſing it with temper and moderation, I truſt I cannot offend the noble propoſer, for whom no man profeſſes or feels more reſpect and regard than I do. A concurrence in *every thing which can be propoſed*, can, in no ſort, weaken the energy, or diſtract the efforts of men of upright intentions upon *thoſe points in which they are agreed.* Aſſemblies that are met with a reſolution to be all of a mind, are aſſemblies that can have no opinion at all of their own. The firſt propoſer of any meaſure muſt be their maſter. I do not know that an amicable variety of ſentiments, conducted with mutual reſpect, and with mutual good will, has any ſort of reſemblance to diſcord; or that it can give any advantage whatever to the enemies of our common cauſe. On the contrary, a forced and fictitious agreement (which every univerſal agreement muſt be) is not becoming the cauſe of freedom.

freedom. If, however, any evil ſhould ariſe from it (which I confeſs I do not foreſee) I am happy that thoſe who have brought forward new and arduous matter, when very great doubts, and ſome diverſity of opinion muſt be foreknown, are of authority and weight enough to ſtand againſt the conſequences.

"I humby lay theſe my ſentiments before the county. They are not taken up to ſerve any intereſts of my own, or to be ſubſervient to the intereſts of any man or ſet of men under heaven. I could wiſh to be able to attend our meeting, or that I had time to reaſon this matter more fully by letter; but I am detained here upon our buſineſs. What you have already put upon us, is as much as men can do. If we are prevented from going through it with any effect, I fear it will be in part owing, not more to the reſiſtance of the enemies of our cauſe, than to our impoſing on ourſelves ſuch taſks as no human faculties, employed as we are, can be equal to. Our worthy members have ſhewn diſtinguiſhed ability and zeal in ſupport of our

 petition.

petition. I am juſt going down to a bill brought in to fruſtrate a capital part of your deſires. The miniſter is preparing to transfer the cognizance of the public accounts from thoſe whom you and the conſtitution have choſe to controul them, to unknown perſons, creatures of his own. For ſo much he annihilates Parliament.

"I have the honour, &c. &c.

April 12, 1780. "E. B."

The defence of Admiral Keppel on his trial is aſcribed to Mr. Burke, in which he was probably aſſiſted.

When Mr. Burke became Paymaſter, in the year 1782, it has been lately ſtated, that he accepted that office with a view of reforming it. But his defence of Mr. Powell in the Houſe of Commons does not corroborate that fact; and as to the reforming of the office, as far as that aſſertion has alluſion to a prior Paymaſter, the reader will find the authentic papers concerning it in the Appendix marked S.

Mr.

Mr. Burke's ſpeeches at Briſtol, not in his works, are alſo in the Appendix marked T.

It is not neceſſary to give an account of Mr. Burke's ſeveral publications; they will probably be printed in ſome future edition of his works; nor of his opinions concerning the American and French revolutions; which are to be found very fully detailed in his writings, and in his ſpeeches in Parliament.

If ever Sir Henry Cavendiſh ſhould publiſh his account of the debates in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, which he took in ſhort hand, during the time he ſat in it, which was from the year 1768 to 1774, Mr. Burke's ſpeeches in that important period will appear with undoubted accuracy; and will give a more intereſting picture of thoſe times than any that has hitherto been exhibited.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.